Newsmen and Their Sources *Abraham S. Goldstein*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

A Journal of Politics and the Arts — March 21, 1970, 50 cents

Nixon's Foreign Policy

Hans J. Morgenthau

Post Office Blues —*David Sanford*

Poor Education —*The Editors*

Theater —*Stanley Kauffmann*

Lousing Up Laos —*John Osborne*

School Desegregation: Marian Edelman and a reply by Alexander M. Bickel

NEWSPAP
44017
BALDWIN WALLACE COLL
RITTER LIB PRD
BEREA OHIO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Announcing America's first (and only)

ALL-BOOK/ ALL-PUBLISHER DISCOUNT CARD

*Not available to dealers, wholesalers, retail book establishments or their representatives or sales agents.

- **COMPUTER REGISTERED** *in bearer's name for life (or until de-registration is requested).*
- **ENTITLES BEARER** *to purchase any book sold in any bookstore in the United States or its Territories (or listed in the* Master Catalog of American Books) *at guaranteed discounts up to 81% across the board. (See Footnote 1 below)*
- **THIS DISCOUNT PRIVILEGE INCLUDES** *all books in print. E.g., all best sellers such as* The Peter Principle, The Godfather, The Inheritors, The Graham Kerr Cookbook, Andromeda Strain, I Ching; *all fiction and non-fiction, hard cover and paper back, scientific and technical, political, historical, biographical, religious, philosophical, art, even reference works, unabridged, dictionaries, encyclopaedia sets, college texts, and professional books. No exclusions.*
- **THIS DISCOUNT PRIVILEGE ALSO INCLUDES** *all books of all publishers, without exception. E.g., Random House, Knopf, Doubleday, Harper & Row, Simon & Schuster, Harvard University Press, Oxford University Press, etc. Even rare or "specialist" publishers. No exclusions.*
- **ACCEPTING THIS CARD** *involves absolutely no obligation or commitment to purchase anything, at any time, for any reason.*
- **COMPLETE COST** *of the All-Book/All-Publisher Discount Card, with full privileges, is $5.* There are no other charges. *This one-time Registration Fee is good for life. You need never renew or pay another fee for as long as you live. (See Footnote 2 below)*

HOW TO ORDER AT DISCOUNTS UP TO 81%

Simply look up selection(s) you want in the Master Catalog of American Books (provided free; see description below) and note the order number listed beside each book. Or, you may prefer to order a book currently offered by some other book club (that, too, is perfectly all right). Or, feel free to copy down the name of *any* book reviewed or advertised in *any* publication or sold in *any* bookstore. Then simply send in your order —accompanied, of course, by your membership number.

HOW MUCH CAN YOU SAVE IN DOLLARS AND CENTS?

If you order at the maximum discount of 81%, then the price you formerly paid for only *one* book will now bring you up to *five* books. Or, said another way: five $5.95 books, normally retailing for a total of $29.75, might now be purchased (provided you have a card) for as little as $5.96. A total saving of $23.79. **In any event, no cardholder will ever pay full price for any item purchased with his card.**

Here are some typical orders processed by our IBM-S/360 computers during the week of April 14 to April 20. (No comment, criticism or endorsement of any book, publisher or author is implied or intended.)

Title	List Price	Card Price
GLOSSARY OF THE CONSTRUCTION, DESIGN & USE OF ARMS & ARMOR, Stone. (Brussel)	$50.00	$ 9.95
PORTNOY'S COMPLAINT, Philip Roth. (Random House)	6.95	4.89
BIRDS OF PREY OF THE WORLD, Grossman & Jamlet. (Bonanza)	25.00	9.93
JAMES BEARD OUTDOOR COOKBOOK, Beard. (Ridge Press)	12.50	5.89
MYRA BRECKENRIDGE, Gore Vidal (Little, Brown)	5.95	2.95
THE ANTI-SEX, Masters & Lea	8.50	3.89
A SMALL TOWN IN GERMANY, John Le Carre	6.95	4.89

(cont'd top of next col.)

THE MEMOIRS OF CASANOVA, 6 Vols. (Putnam)	30.00	7.89
LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE EARTH (Prometheus)	17.50	9.89
COMPLETE PIANO MUSIC OF BEETHOVEN. Zubin Mehta, others. 21 stereo LP records. Boxed. With analysis and program notes	100.00	19.89
THE RICH & THE SUPER RICH, Lundberg. (Stuart)	15.00	8.79
HANDWRITING ANALYSIS, Bunker. (Nelson-Hall)	10.00	2.49
DICTIONARY OF APHRODISIACS, Wedeck. (Philosophical Library)	10.00	5.88
COMPLETE STRING QUARTETS OF BEETHOVEN. Fine Arts Quartet. 9 stereo LP records. Boxed.	40.00	9.79
COMPLETE ILLUSTRATED BOOK OF YOGA, Vishnudavananda (Bell)	10.00	2.49
THE MONEY GAME, "Adam Smith". (Random House)	6.95	4.89
PICTORIAL HISTORY OF MAGIC & THE SUPERNATURAL, Bessey. (Sprint)	10.00	5.89

FOOTNOTE 1 Master Catalog of American books is sent free with your card. (You are also entitled to receive the Master Catalog of British Books and—if you so desire—to order any and all British books in print, as well as obtain book quotations and bibliographic searches for research and scholarly purposes, at a slight additional service fee.)

FOOTNOTE 2 We do not profit from your $5 Registration Fee (which, incidentally, cardholders generally "amortize" many times over on their first order alone). This goes at once to defray the considerable cost of programming your name and order-number into the battery of IBM-S/360 computers comprising our new Computer Control Network, which can store over 1½ BILLION characters of information, scan and process book orders at rate of TWO MILLION CHARACTERS PER MINUTE. Currently servicing orders for more than 100,000 cardholders, it is the only such network of its kind in existence.

FOOTNOTE 3 Cardholders receive only genuine publishers editions. Conventional book clubs often send members "club editions"—i.e., special "economy" printings using cheaper paper, smaller type, flimsier bindings. Our discounts are never achieved this way. All books come from the publisher and are guaranteed brand new and bindery fresh—the same item selling for up to four times the price in the "bookstore around the corner."

HOW THESE LARGE DISCOUNTS ARE ACHIEVED

A newly activated Computer Control Network (picture below) bypasses virtually all "middlemen" (and "mark-ups") in the normal book distribution chain. The resultant savings are then passed on to cardholders in the form of discounts up to 81%. (See footnote 3 below)

YOU MUST BE SATISFIED OR MONEY REFUNDED

If for any reason after receiving it you feel your card is not as valuable as we have led you to believe (or even if you have simply changed your mind), you are free to return it within 10 days for a full refund of your Registration Fee. (Please tear card in half before returning it.) Naturally, any book you purchase with your card must also satisfy you completely or you may return it for a full refund—no questions asked.

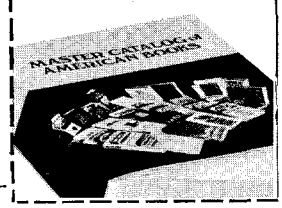
To apply for an ALL-BOOK/ALL-PUBLISHER DISCOUNT CARD, complete and mail the form below. (Should your application not be approved, your Registration Fee will be returned to you at once.) Mail form to ALL-BOOK/ALL-PUBLISHER DISCOUNT CARD, American Book Club, Hazleton, Pa. 18201.

COMPUTER CONTROL NETWORK

Links 100,000 current cardholders with all major publishers in the U. S. via electronic computer. Bypasses jobbers, wholesalers, distributors, bookstores, virtually all "middlemen" and "markups". Passes the savings of "direct-from-publisher" ordering (up to 81%) on to cardholder. Also permits cardholders (if they wish) to order any British books in print for a slight additional service charge.

FREE WITH YOUR CARD

Master Catalog of American Books (unobtainable outside book trade except for cardholders) lists full 20,000 books in print at guaranteed discounts up to 81%. An invaluable reference work, it is indexed by subject, author, title and publisher. You never pay full price for any book you order, under any circumstances. This 350-page Master Catalog remains yours—free and without obligation—even if you later decide to return your card for a refund.



APPLICATION FORM

Mail to: **ALL-BOOK/ALL-PUBLISHER DISCOUNT CARD**
American Book Club, Hazleton, Pa. 18201 167

Please send a registered ALL-BOOK/ALL-PUBLISHER DISCOUNT CARD in my name. (Also forward Master Catalog of American Books free of extra charge.) I understand that acceptance of this card does not obligate me to buy anything. But it entitles me to order any books in print at discounts up to 81%, plus shipping. Enclosed is my one-time Registration Fee of $5 to defray computer programming. **There are no other charges for the rest of my life.** If not satisfied, I am free to return card within 10 days for a full refund of my Registration Fee. **But the Master Catalog of American Books will be mine to keep free, whether I decide to remain a cardholder or not.**

Name _____

Address _____

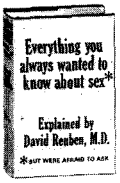
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

_____ Initial here. I am not a book dealer, and will not resell books purchased with card at a higher price.

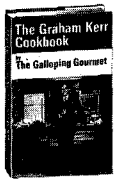
• *If your card is lost or stolen please notify American Book Club at above address without delay.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

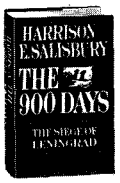
357. TRAVELS WITH MY AUNT *by* GRAHAM GREENE (Retail price **$5.95**)



206. EVERYTHING [illegible] ALWAYS WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT SEX *by* DAVID REUBEN, M.D. (Ret. price **$6.95**)

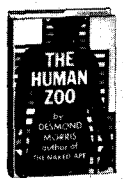


130. THE GRAHAM KERR COOKBOOK *by* THE GALLOPING GOURMET Photos. (Ret. price **$7.50**)

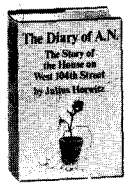


484. THE 900 DAYS: The Siege of Leningrad *by* HARRISON E. SALISBURY Photographs (Ret. price **$10**)

171. THEM *by* JOYCE CAROL OATES (Ret. price **$6.95**)

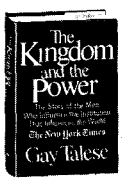


133. THE HUMAN ZOO *by* DESMOND MORRIS (Retail price **$6.95**)



354. THE DIARY OF A. N. *by* JULIUS HORWITZ. (Ret. price **$5.95**)

127. THE POETRY OF ROBERT FROST *Edited by* EDWARD CONNERY LATHEM. (Retail price **$10.95**)



241. THE KINGDOM AND THE POWER *by* GAY TALESE Photographs (Ret. price **$10**)

250. THE ANDROMEDA STRAIN *by* MICHAEL CRICHTON (Retail price **$5.95**)

AN INVITATION TO READERS

who may have considered membership in the

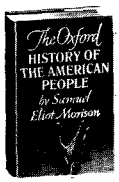
BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB

CHOOSE ANY THREE FOR ONLY $1

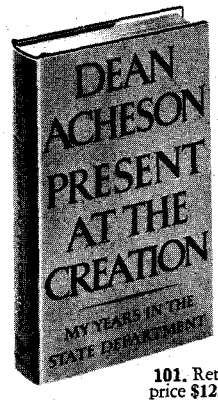
IN A SHORT EXPERIMENTAL MEMBERSHIP

THE SUGGESTED TRIAL: You simply agree to buy three Club choices within a year at special members' prices

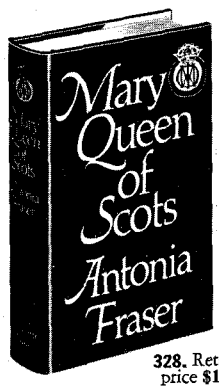
174. IN SOMEONE'S SHADOW, LISTEN TO THE WARM, STANYAN STREET & OTHER SORROWS *by* ROD MC KUEN (Retail prices total **$13.50**)



234. THE OXFORD HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE *by* SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON (Retail price **$15**)



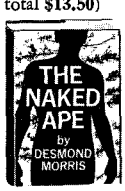
101. Retail price **$12.50**



328. Retail price **$10**

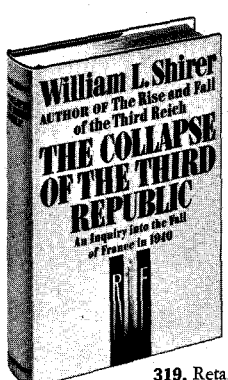
431. THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH. (Retail price **$15**)

493. FIRE FROM HEAVEN *by* MARY RENAULT (Retail price **$7.95**)



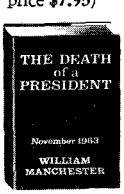
387. THE NAKED APE *by* DESMOND MORRIS (Ret. price **$5.95**)

102. DOCTOR ZHIVAGO *by* BORIS PASTERNAK (Ret. price **$5.95**)

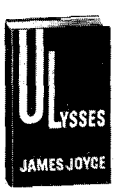

William L. Shirer
AUTHOR OF The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich
THE COLLAPSE OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC
An Inquiry into the Fall of France in 1940

319. Retail price **$12.50**

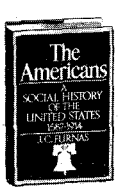
111. ERNEST HEMINGWAY A Life Story *by* CARLOS BAKER. Photos (Ret. price **$10**)



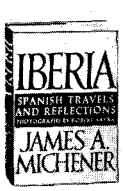
355. THE DEATH OF A PRESIDENT *by* MANCHESTER (Retail price **$10**)



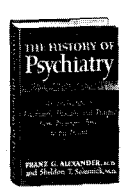
139. ULYSSES *by* JAMES JOYCE Unabridged (Ret. price **$7.95**)



304. THE AMERICANS *by* J. C. FURNAS Illustrated (Retail price **$12.95**)

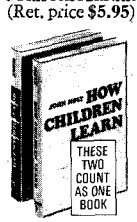


414. IBERIA Spanish Travels and Reflections *by* JAMES A. MICHENER Photographs (Ret. price **$10**)

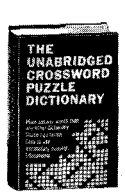


329. THE HISTORY OF PSYCHIATRY (Retail price **$11.95**)

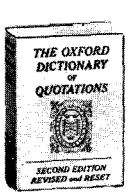
107. THE WAY THINGS WORK An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Technology (Ret. price **$9.95**)



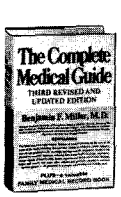
200. HOW CHILDREN LEARN *and* HOW CHILDREN FAIL *by* JOHN HOLT (Retail prices total **$9.45**)



397. UNABRIDGED CROSSWORD PUZZLE DICTIONARY *by* A. F. SISSON Thumb-indexed (Ret. price **$5.95**)



260. THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS (Ret. price **$11**)



140. THE COMPLETE MEDICAL GUIDE *by* BENJAMIN F. MILLER, M. D. (Ret. price **$9.95**)

148. MAKING THINGS GROW *by* THALASSA CRUSO Illustrated. (Ret. price **$6.95**)

161. JOY OF COOKING *by* ROMBAUER *and* BECKER. (Ret. price **$6.95**)

580. MASTERING THE ART OF FRENCH COOKING. Illus. (Ret. price **$10**)

A library-building plan every reading family should know about

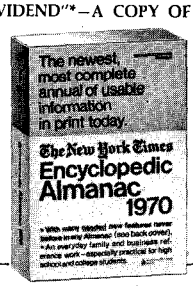
THE EXPERIMENTAL MEMBERSHIP suggested here will not only prove, *by your own actual experience*, how effectually membership in the Book-of-the-Month Club can **keep you from missing**, through oversight or overbusyness, books you fully intend to read; it will also demonstrate another important advantage: **Book-Dividends.** Through this unique profit-sharing system members can regularly receive valuable library volumes—at a small fraction of their retail prices—simply by buying books they would buy even if they were not members.

If you continue after this experimental membership, you will earn, *for every Book-of-the-Month Club Selection or Alternate you buy*, a Book-Dividend Credit. Each Credit, upon payment of a nominal sum, often only **$1.00 or $1.50**—somewhat more for unusually expensive volumes—will entitle you to a valuable Book-Dividend which you may choose from more than 100 fine library volumes available over the year. This is probably the most economical means ever devised for building up a well-rounded personal library. Since its inauguration, the almost incredible sum of **more than $488,000,000 worth of Book-Dividends (retail value) has been received by Book-of-the-Month Club members through this unique plan.**

...AND YOU WILL ALSO RECEIVE WITHOUT ADDITIONAL CHARGE—AS AN "EXTRA BOOK-DIVIDEND"*—A COPY OF

The New York Times Encyclopedic Almanac 1970

1056 PAGES • RETAIL PRICE: $2.95



*From time to time, certain special books are distributed free to members who order a Club Selection or Alternate during a given period. This book is a recent example of one of these "extras."

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, INC.
280 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017 **A127-3-2**

Please enroll me as a member of the Book-of-the-Month Club and send me the three volumes whose numbers I have indicated in boxes below, billing me $1.00 for all three volumes. (I will also receive without additional charge a copy of *The New York Times Encyclopedic Almanac 1970.)* I agree to purchase at least three additional monthly Selections or Alternates during the first year I am a member, paying special members' prices. My membership is cancelable any time after buying these three books. If I continue after this trial I will earn a Book-Dividend Credit for every Selection—or Alternate—I buy under the system described at left. (A postage and handling charge is added to all shipments.)

INDICATE BY NUMBER THE THREE BOOKS YOU WANT ☐ ☐ ☐

MR. / MRS. / MISS } .....
(Please print plainly)

Address..... **0-56**

City & State..... *Zone or Zip*.....

The trademarks BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB *and* BOOK-DIVIDEND *are registered by Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., in the U.S. Patent Office and in Canada.*

The New Republic is published 48 weeks per year at $12, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc., 1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional mailing offices.

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LAMBERT STUDIOS–FINE ART PRINTS

ORDER DIRECT FROM THE PUBLISHER & SAVE!

OIL PAINT • ARTIST CANVAS • HAND SILK SCREEN • LITHOGRAPHS • POSTERS

$1.00 and up

206. FRIEZE FROM A CHINESE TOMB. *Silkscreen on artist canvas.* Red and Beige. 14" x 50". Only **5.95**

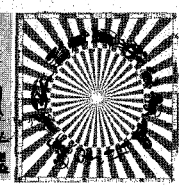
268. PICASSO. BULLFIGHT. *Silkscreen on artist canvas.* Black and White. 14" x 32". Only **3.95**

520. WANDA EMBRY. *Full color on fine art stock.* The 46th annual New York Art Director's Club Show's Painted Lady. Life like. Life size. 12" x 63". Only **4.95**

201. CRETAN BULL DANCERS. *Silkscreen on artist canvas.* Full color. 17" x 46". Only **6.95** **103.** On paper. Only **3.95**

536. WAR IS GOOD BUSINESS—INVEST YOUR SON. Red, White and Blue. 22" x 26". Only **4.95**

261. PICASSO. DON QUIXOTE. Silkscreen on canvas. Black and White. 18" x 24". Only **2.98**



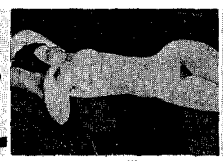
548. NEGATIVE ZODIAC. *12 signs illustrated & most prominent negative trait of each* Silkscreen on paper. 30" x 30". Only **4.95**

315. RYER. THE WRESTLERS. *Lithograph* on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **5.95** **539.** On paper. Only **2.98**

290. PICASSO. TOROS Y TOREROS. *Silkscreen* on artist canvas. Black and white. 18" x 24". Only **3.95**

310. MODIGLIANI PORTRAIT OF A GIRL. Silkscreen on canvas. 16" x 27". Only **5.95** **535.** On paper **2.98**

301. PICASSO. MOMENT OF TRUTH. *Silkscreen* on artist canvas. Black and white. 18" x 24". Only **3.95**



260. MODIGLIANI. RECLINING NUDE. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 16" x 25". Only **5.95**

311. PICASSO. TOROS. *Silkscreen on artist* canvas. Black and white. 18" x 24". Only **3.98**

252. PICASSO. THREE MUSICIANS. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 22" x 24". Only **5.95**

196. WYETH. CHRISTINA'S WORLD. *Collotype* on fine art stock. Full color. 28" x 40". Only **7.50**

267. PICASSO. PICADOR. *Silkscreen* on artist canvas. Black and white. 18" x 24". Only **2.98**

309. VAN GOGH. SIDEWALK CAFE AT NIGHT. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 19" x 24". Only **9.95**

231. PR. MEDIEVAL BRASS RUBBINGS: KNIGHT AND LADY. Silkscreen. Canvas, Black and gold. 12" x 36". Only **6.95** pr. **165.** On paper. Only **3.95** pr.

342. BRAQUE. SEATED NUDE. Silkscreen on canvas. Full color. 20" x 28". Only **9.95** 574. On Paper. **6.95**

234. EL GRECO. VIEW OF TOLEDO. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 20" x 22". Only **9.95**

204. MODIGLIANI. SKETCH OF A GIRL. Silkscreen on canvas. Black and reds. 17" x 27". Only **5.95** **110.** On paper. **2.98**

247. PICASSO. BLUE NUDE. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 16" x 20". Only **5.95** **186.** On paper **2.98**

245. PICASSO. MATERNITY. Silk-screen canvas. Full color. 15" x 20". Only **7.95**

212. VAN GOGH. SUN-FLOWERS. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 20" x 26". Only **6.95**

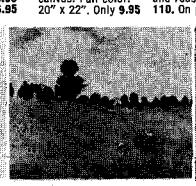
549. HAUSMAN. WOMAN. Silkscreen poster. Fine art stock. Full color. 20" x 38". Only **4.95**

271. VAN GOGH. STARRY NIGHT Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **9.95** **561.** On paper. Only **6.95**

325. CHABAS. SEPTEMBER MORN. *Lithograph on artist* canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **5.95**

347. HUG. KANGAROOS. Lithograph canvas. *Browns, tans, yellows.* 22" x 28". Only **5.95** 579. On Paper. **2.98**

209. PICASSO. STUDIES FOR MOTHER AND CHILD. *On artist canvas.* Sepia tones. 16" x 20". Only **4.95**

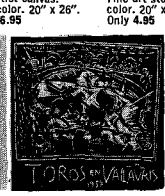


265. MONET. RED POPPIES. *Silkscreen on artist* canvas. Full color. 19" x 24". Only **7.95**

264. MONET. SUNFLOWERS. *On artist canvas.* Full color. 19" x 24". Only **6.95**

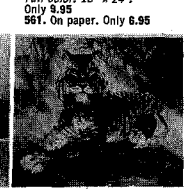
314. OROZCO. ZAPATISTAS. *Silkscreen on artist* canvas. Full color. 18" x 22". Only **9.95**

343. HUG. CHEETAH. Lithograph artist canvas. *Browns, tans, yellows.* 22" x 28". Only **5.95** 575. On Paper. **2.98**



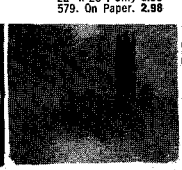
547. PICASSO. TOROS EN VALLAVRIS. *Silkscreen on fine art* stock. Black and white. 20" x 21". Only **1.98**

287. PICASSO. THE TRAGEDY. Silkscreen on artist canvas. *Full color. 17" x 26".* Only **5.95** **517.** On paper **2.98**



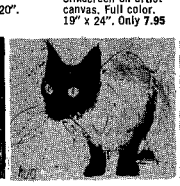
319. DeKAY. TIGER. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **5.95**

306. HAUSMAN. THE PARTING. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 16" x 20". Only **5.95** **529.** On paper. Only **2.98**



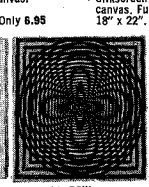
270. MONET. HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 20" x 22". Only **6.95**

316. MUNCH. THE KISS. Lithograph on artist canvas. Grays and blacks. 16" x 20". Only **4.95**

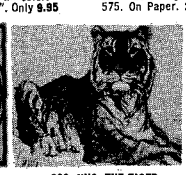


282. HUG. THE CAT. Lithograph on canvas. Browns, tans, yellows. 22" x 28". Only **5.95** **508.** On paper **2.98**

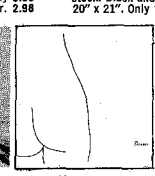
150. MUSIC MANUSCRIPT WITH ASTROLOGERS. Silkscreen on parch-ment paper. Full color. 20" x 30". Only **3.95**



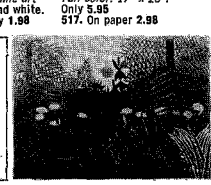
583. POW. On fine art stock. Silkscreen in full color. 22" x 28". Only **2.49**



283. HUG. THE TIGER. Lithograph on canvas. Browns, tans, yellows. 22" x 28". Only **5.95** **509.** On paper **2.98**

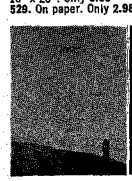


308. PICASSO. FEMME. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Black and white. 16" x 20". Only **2.98**

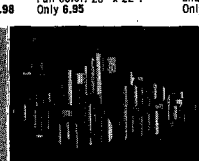


277. ROUSSEAU. VIRGIN FOREST AT SUNSET. Silkscreen on artist canvas. *Full color.* 20" x 28". Only **7.95**

546. PICASSO. MATADOR. Silkscreen on fine art stock. Orange and black 23" x 35". Only **$3.95**

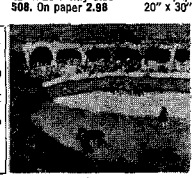


871. GILLETTE. LOVE. Poster in grays and white on fine art stock. 17" x 21". Only **1.98**



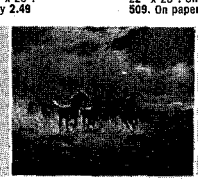
541. SYNCOPATED RHYTHM. Silkscreen on paper. Dayglo colors on black. 23" x 29". Only **1.98**

528. BEN SHAHN. Poster. Black & brown on white paper. 30" x 45". Only **3.95**



300. PICASSO. CORRIDA DE TOROS. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 20" x 24". Only **5.95**

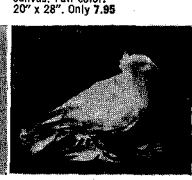
313. PICASSO. LA RONDE. Silkscreen on artist canvas. *Full color. 20" x 26".* Only **5.95**



324. ALSO. FREE AS THE WIND. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **4.95**

281. PICASSO. TOREROS. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Black and white. 18" x 24". Only **2.98**

210. RUBENS, ARTIST'S SON. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 14" x 17". Only **5.95** **112.** On paper. Only **2.98**



304. PICASSO. THE DOVE. Silkscreen artist canvas. Black, grays and white. 12" x 15". Only **4.95**

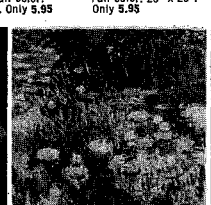
543. TARGET. Poster in red, yellow, black, *and white. 40"* x 40". Only **1.98**

278. PICASSO. THE OLD GUITARIST. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Blues and greens. 18" x 26". Only **5.95**

305. RYER. LOVERS. Lithograph on canvas. Browns, gold, tans. 18" x 29". Only **5.95.** **530.** Paper. **2.98**

312. PICASSO. LES PETIT FLEURS. Silk-screen on artist canvas. Full color. 20" x 26". Only **5.95**

262. HAUSMAN. A MAN AND A WOMAN. Silk-screen canvas. Color. 16" x 23". Only **5.95** **523.** On paper. **2.98**



254. MONET. WATER LILIES. Silkscreen on canvas. Full color. 22" x 22". Only **6.95** **526.** On paper **3.95**

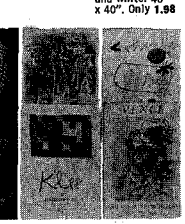
318. RYER. RAPE OF THE SABINES. Silkscreen on canvas. Full color. 14" x 33". Only **5.95** **538.** *On paper. 2.98*

295. RYER, SEATED NUDE. Lithograph on canvas. Full color. 18" x 29". Only **5.95** **518.** *Paper. 2.98*

299. DAUMIER. MAN OF LA MANCHA. Silk-screen on artist canvas. Full color. *18" x 26". Only 5.95*

323. DEGAS. THE GLASS OF ABSINTHE. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. *18" x 24". Only* **5.95**

540. SPHERES. Dayglo colors. Fine art stock. 19" x 31". *Only* **1.98**



534. ART EXHIBITION POSTERS. Set of four. Heavy art stock. Full color. KLEE, MIRO, DUFY, CHAGALL. 20" x 30" ea. *All four only* **3.95**

351. HUG. THE OWLS. Lithograph on artist canvas. Browns, tans, yellows. *22" x 28". Only* **5.95** **589.** On paper. **2.98**

344. HUG. TIGER. Lithograph artist canvas. Red background. *22" x 28". Only* **5.95** 576. On Paper. **2.98**

246. EL GRECO. ST. MARTIN. Silkscreen on artist canvas. 16" x 20". Only **6.95**

550. LOVE. Silkscreen poster on paper. Full color. 23" x 35". Only **1.98**

559. SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS. Poster on paper. Full color. 23" x 35". Only **1.98**

590. LOVE IS. Poster on paper. Full color. 23" x 35". Only **1.98**

565. WHEN THE BOMB GOES OFF. Poster on paper. Black & white. 22" x 25". Only **1.98**

591. TAKE TIME. Poster on paper. Grays & white. 19" x 25". Only **1.98**

226. MUSICIANS. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Metallic gold & brown. 11" x 31". Only **4.95**

289. CHARIOTEERS. Silkscreen on artist canvas *Metallic gold & brown. 11" x 37". Only* **4.95**

592. FIRE. Silkscreen on paper. Black Light poster. 22" x 28". Only **2.98**

288. HOLTZ. SCHOONER. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 22" x 28". *Only* **5.95**

558. MOTHER EARTH. Poster on paper. Full color. 23" x 35". *Only* **1.98**

584. COLUMBIA PICTURES' EASY RIDER. Silkscreen on fine art stock. Emerald green, blue, orange, magenta. 32" x 42". Only **3.98**

593. MAN ON MOON. Poster on paper. Full color. 23" x 35". *Only* **1.98**

275. VAN GOGH. CYPRESS ROAD. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 21" x 28". Only **4.95**

571. PETER MAX. AUDIO D.N.A. Poster on paper. Full color. 24" x 36". Only **1.98**

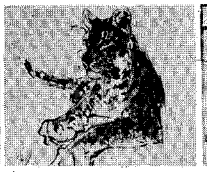
250. MANET. THE PIPER. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Color. 15" x 25". *Only* **2.98**

229. PARTRIDGE PANEL. Silkscreen on artist canvas Blues, greens, yellow. 12" x 37". Only **4.95**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

339. DETLEFSEN, HAPPY DAYS. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **4.95**

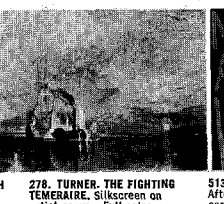
215. PICASSO. THE LOVERS. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **4.95**



285. HUG. THE LEOPARD. Lithograph on artist canvas. Browns, tans, yellow. 22" x 28". Only **5.95** **511.** On paper. **2.98**

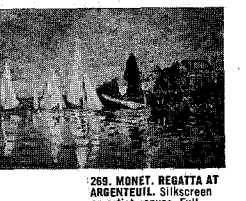
251. SEURAT. LA GRANDE JATTE. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 27". Only **5.95**

302. PICASSO. FAUN WITH LEAVES. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Black & white. 18" x 24". Only **2.98**



278. TURNER. THE FIGHTING TEMERAIRE. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 20" x 28". Only **7.95**

513. NEVER AGAIN WAR. After **KOLLWITZ.** Silkscreen on paper. Black, grays, daylo red. 23" x 30". Only **4.95**

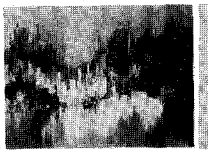


269. MONET. REGATTA AT ARGENTEUIL. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 27". Only **6.95**

155. KLEE. BIRD GARDEN. Silkscreen on paper. Full color. 17" x 24". Only **2.98**

532. MATISSE. BLUE NUDE. Silkscreen on parchment paper. Blue. 16" x 23". Only **2.98**

303. MODIGLIANI. CARYATID. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Blue. 15" x 20". Only **3.95**



334. MUNNICH. CITY VISTA. Lithograph on artist canvas. Color. 18" x 24". Only **4.95**

335. SIMON. GOLDEN CHARGER. Lithograph on artist canvas. Color. 18" x 24". Only **4.95**

329. REMBRANDT. GIRL WITH BROOM. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color 18" x 24". Only **4.95**

307. PICASSO. DANCES. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Black & white. 17" x 22". Only **3.95.**

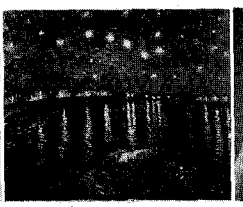
272. BUFFET. CLOWN. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 22" x 28". Only **5.95**

288. PICASSO. BACCHANAL. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Black & white. 18" x 24". Only **2.98**

357. DETLEFSEN. SPRING BLOSSOMS. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18 x 24". Only **4.95**

266. REMBRANDT. MAN IN GOLDEN HELMET. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 20" x 27". Only **5.95**

352. MONET. ROUEN CATHEDRAL. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 26". Only **6.95**

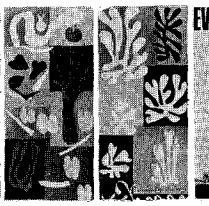


286. VAN GOGH. STARLIGHT OVER THE RHONE. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 20" x 25". Only **9.95**

350. RYER. ETERNAL STRUGGLE. Silkscreen canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **5.95** 588. On Paper. Only **2.98**

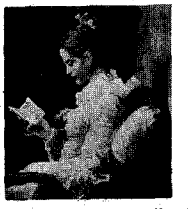
TOULOUSE-LAUTREC POSTERS 531. Set of four collotype posters. Each 20" x 28". Aristide Bruant, Moulin Rouge, Jane Avril and Divan Japonais. Special all four **3.95**

255. REDON. WILD-FLOWERS. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Color. 19" x 26". Only **2.98**

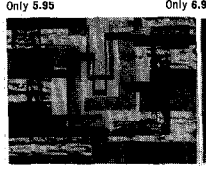


280. MATISSE. PAIR OF MURALS. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 13" x 28" each. Pair only **6.95**

564. EVERYONE'S GONE TO THE MOON. Poster on paper. Black and white. 20" x 30". Only **1.98**



279. FRAGONARD. YOUNG GIRL READING. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 20" x 26". Only **6.95**



317. PEREIRA. LANDSCAPE OF THE ABSOLUTE. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Blues. 20" x 25". Only **9.95**

353. REMBRANDT. SELF-PORTRAIT. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **4.95**

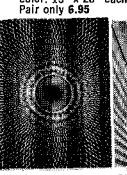
544. BUTTERFLY. Poster on paper. Daylo colors. 29" x 23". Only **1.98**

333. APPEL. ABSTRACT. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **4.95**

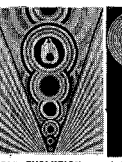
336. REMBRANDT. YOUNG GIRL AT DOOR. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **4.95**

553. RENAISSANCE MINSTRELS. Poster on paper. Full color. 23" x 23". Only **1.98**

326. CEZANNE. BLUE VASE. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **4.95**



567. ENERGY. Silkscreen poster on paper. Daylo colors. 22" x 28". Only **1.98**



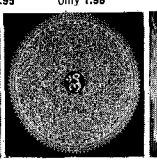
595. EVOLUTION. Silkscreen on paper. Black Light poster. 22" x 28". Only **2.98**

586. BULLSEYE. Silkscreen on art stock. 12" x 30". Only **1.98**

258. RENOIR. LITTLE SHEPHERD. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 23". Only **1.00**

330. VAN GOGH. DRAWBRIDGE AT ARLES. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **4.95**

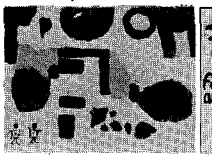
354. RENOIR. THE SWING. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **4.95**



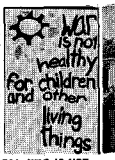
777. OM MANDALA. Silkscreen poster on paper. Greens & gold. 24" x 24". Only **1.98**

345. HUG. THE PUMA. Lithograph on canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **5.95** **577.** On paper. **2.98**

582. MORATORIUM. Silkscreen poster on art stock. Blue & White. 24" x 27". Only **2.98**



217. KLEE. THE LONELY ONES. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 20" x 28". Only **5.95** **147.** On paper **2.98**



560. WAR IS NOT HEALTHY. Poster on paper. Full color. 23" x 35". Only **1.98**

566. WOOD. AMERICAN GOTHIC. Lithograph on paper. Full color. 17" x 21". Only **7.50**

332. MONET. BASSIN D'ARGENTEUIL. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **4.95**

356. TONASCO. MUSTANGS. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **4.95**

238. ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT—GREEN KNIGHT. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 15" x 21". Only **2.98**

235. ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT—BLUE KNIGHT. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 15" x 21". Only **2.98**

552. TODAY. Poster on paper. Black & gold. 23" x 35". Only **1.98**

328. RENOIR. LITTLE IRENE. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **4.95**

338. RENOIR. BOATING PARTY. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **4.95**

572. PETER MAX. TOULOUSE-LAUTREC. Poster on paper. Full color. 24" x 36". Only **1.98**

355. RENOIR. ON THE TERRACE. Lithograph on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **5.95**

594. CALIFORNIA. Poster on paper. Grays & white. 22" x 28". Only **1.98**

597. MAKE LOVE NOT WAR. Poster on paper. Black & white. 18" x 23". Only **1.98**

570. PETER MAX. TOP CAT. Poster on paper. Full color. 24" x 36". Only **1.98**

358. HUG. THE GIRAFFE. Lithograph canvas. Color. 22" x 28". **5.95** **598.** Paper. **2.98**

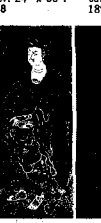
587. THE SILENT MAJORITY. Arlington Cemetary. Lithograph on art stock. Full color. 22" x 30". Only **2.98**

556. CAT. Silkscreen on paper. Daylo colors. 20" x 30". Only **1.98**

256. VAN GOGH. CHURCH AT AUVERS. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 18" x 24". Only **5.95**

244. MODIGLIANI. MARIE. Silkscreen on artist canvas, Sepia 15" x 23". Only **2.98** **183.** On paper **1.49**

248. VAN GOGH. IRISES. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 20" x 25". Only **6.95**

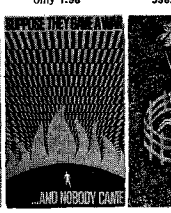


519. KWAN YIN. Silkscreen on rice paper. Blue. 12" x 39". Only **1.98**

281. REMBRANDT. YOUNG WARRIOR. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 19" x 27". Only **5.95**

596. NESBITT. LUNAR RAPE—'69. Silkscreen on paper. Gold, silver, black. 25" x 30". Only **4.95**

527. DURER. KNIGHT, DEATH & THE DEVIL. Silkscreen on paper. Sepia. 21" x 27". Only **2.98**

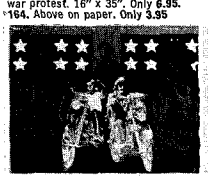


198. SUPPOSE THEY GAVE A WAR. Silkscreen on paper. Daylo red & black. 25" x 38". Only **4.95**

237. UNICORN IN CAPTIVITY. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Full color. 19" x 28". Only **5.95**

230. PICASSO. GUERNICA. Lithograph on artist canvas in grays and black. Impressive and poignant war protest. 16" x 35". Only **6.95.** **184.** Above on paper. Only **3.95**

284. HUG. THE LION. Lithograph on artist canvas. Browns, tans, yellows. 22" x 28". Only **5.95** **510.** On paper **2.98**



569. EASY RIDER. Silkscreen poster on paper. Daylo red, white & blue. 22" x 28". Only **2.98**

216. KOLLWITZ. MOTHER AND CHILD. Silkscreen on artist canvas. Black & white. 18" x 24". Only **2.98**

568. AZTECA. Silkscreen poster on paper. Daylo colors. 26" x 27". Only **1.98**

FREE
if your order totals $10 or more

PICASSO. PROFILE. Silkscreen drawing. Black on white fine art stock. 18" x 24".

MAIL COUPON TODAY

LAMBERT STUDIOS: Dept. NR-37

15 WEST 24 STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10010

Gentlemen: Please rush the prints whose numbers are circled at right. If my order totals $10 or more you will also include my FREE print of **PICASSO. PROFILE.**

PRINTS ON CANVAS													
201	204	206	209	210	212	215	216	217	219	226	229		
230	231	234	235	236	237	240	244	245	246	247	248	250	251	252	254
255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271
272	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289
290	291	295	296	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309
310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	323	324	325	326	328	329
330	332	333	334	335	336	338	339	342	343	344	345	347	350	351	352
353	354	355	356	357	358										
PRINTS ON PAPER				103	110	112	147	150	155	164	165	171	183	186	196
198	508	509	510	511	513	517	518	519	520	523	526	527	528	529	530
531	532	534	535	536	538	539	540	541	543	544	546	547	548	549	550
552	553	556	558	559	560	561	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572
574	575	576	577	579	582	583	584	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593
594	595	596	597	598	777	871									

PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY. THIS IS YOUR SHIPPING LABEL.

The prints I have circled opposite amount to $_____

Plus Sales Tax (when applicable)_____

Plus Handling Charge **75¢**

I enclose $_____

When in New York visit our Studios: Please add $1.00 per print for delivery outside U.S.

We do not offer a catalog because our selections are constantly changing. If you are not satisfied with your order, return it within 10 days with evidence of purchase for full credit or cash refund.

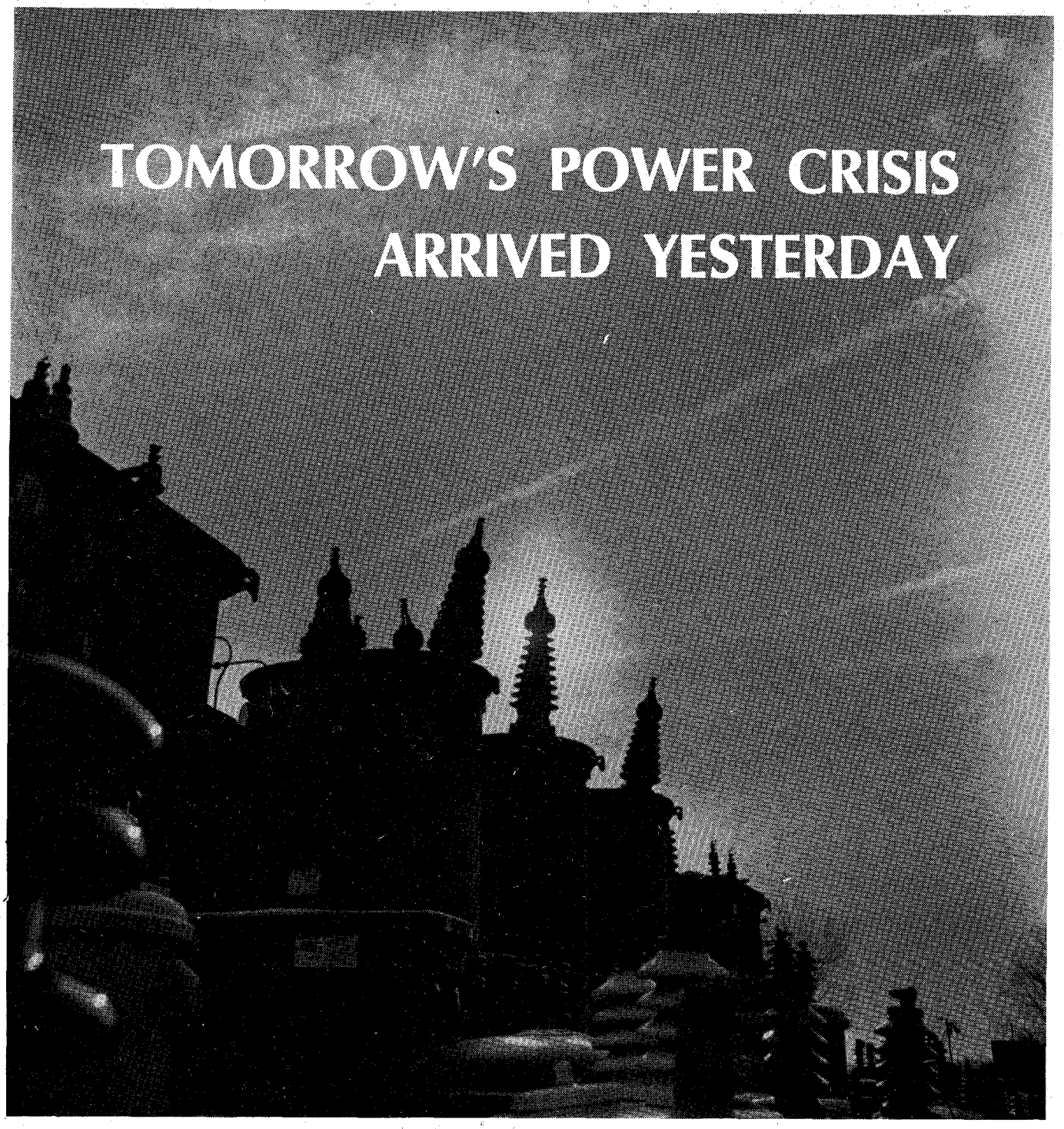
Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

FAMOUS LAMBERT GUARANTEE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The crisis is compounded of a rapidly accelerating demand for electric power and the failure or inability of the power industry to anticipate it.

The solution is not increasingly frequent pleas to consumers to turn off air conditioners, or voltage drops or brown-outs—or worse.

America's nearly 1,000 consumer-owned rural electric systems . . . serving 25 million people across the country . . . are a small but important part of the nation's power industry. We have warned of the impending power shortage for years. We have urged regional and national planning . . . expanded generating capacity. We have called for interlocking grids to pool and exchange power so no area need ever be without sufficient electricity.

We believe adequate, dependable, low-cost power must be available to every American.

We know about power crises. The rural electrification program was born as the result of one which denied basic electric service to millions.

And we are determined to do our part to see that another power crisis never again blocks America's pathway to progress.

AMERICA'S RURAL ELECTRIC SYSTEMS

Owned and controlled by the people they serve

For more information write National Rural Electric Cooperative Association / 2000 Florida Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nearly lost forever—this rare sculpture by Degas

Now beautifully recast in Foundry-Stone, yours as a gift with membership in The Sculpture Collectors Limited ...and no obligation to buy anything now or ever.

BECAUSE Degas worked in wax or clay and never bothered to cast his sculpture in bronze, much of it crumbled during his lifetime and was lost forever. Luckily, *Danse d'Espagne* survived and a small number of bronzes were cast a few years after the artist's death in 1917.

Now, from one of the original bronzes, part of the collection of The Sculpture Collectors Limited, a Foundry-Stone casting has been made of this masterpiece of form and captured motion. This work is not available except with membership in Sculpture Collectors. It is not for sale, and no more will be cast after these are spoken for.

But *Danse d'Espagne* can now be yours as a gift—with an entirely new kind of membership that never obligates you but privileges you to acquire fine works by outstanding living artists, at prices far below those commanded by dealers and galleries.

You become an art collector and patron

The Sculpture Collectors Limited makes all this possible by going directly to the creative source, the artists themselves, commissioning original works exclusively for members. All commissions are awarded by the Curator guided by a distinguished Board of Advisors, consisting of art historians, critics, collectors and appraisers. Their selections are based upon both artistic merit and value.

Specially commissioned for members only

Each work is individually signed, then hand-cast in Foundry-Stone—a newly developed polyester miracle that permits a wide variety of textures, colors and finishes. Each piece will be cast in an edition sufficient to meet the needs of membership and will not be offered for sale by us outside the membership. However, members may resell to other collectors with no restrictions of any kind, including price.

As a member, you will have the opportunity —but never the obligation—to add fine multiple sculpture to your collection.

Four times a year you will be advised of Sculpture Collectors' new offerings. If any of the works described and pictured appeals to you and you would like to see it in your home—discover it from different angles and in various lights, try it to the touch, see how it fits in a number of room settings—you are invited to live with it for a 30-day trial period and you still retain the option to decline it.

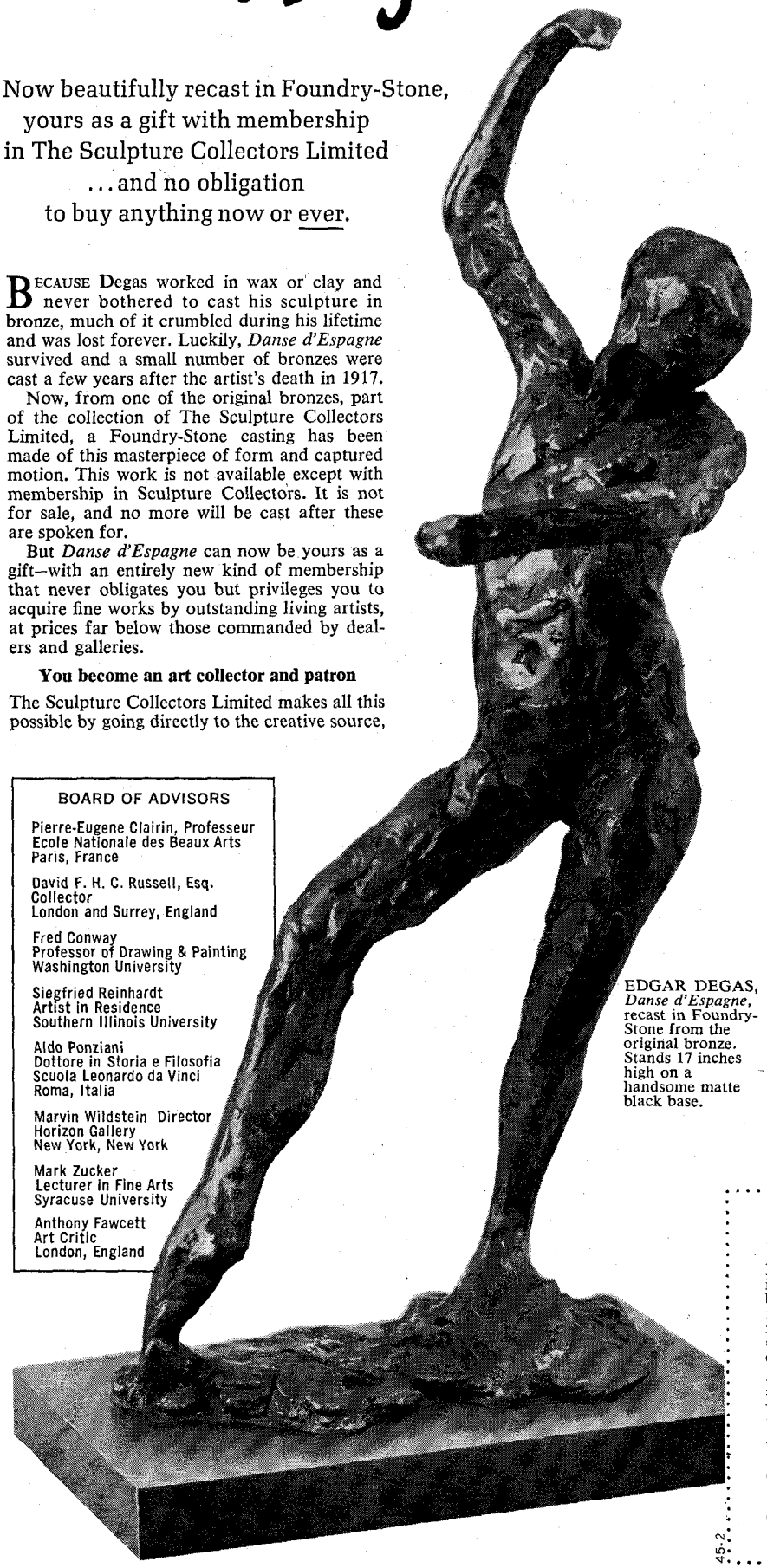
No obligation to buy anything—ever

Each quarterly offering will feature three exclusive, signed works by artists such as Dali, as well as other outstanding European and American sculptors—among them, Dehner, Denhof, Ente, Glinsky, Hartwig, Minaux—all important artists whose works have been appreciating in value. Yet, their prices to you are as low as $25 and *never* more than $45.

Each work will arrive accompanied by a certificate of authenticity, a biography of the artist and an appreciation of the work. Each piece is handsomely mounted on a stone base designed to present it most effectively.

Lifetime membership just $10

Only $10 makes you a lifetime member of Sculpture Collectors. Immediately upon joining you receive a replica of Degas' graceful *Danse d'Espagne* as a gift. And your membership can lead to a lifetime of pleasure and profit collecting art. To enjoy the adventure of owning handsome works by contemporary masters, simply mail the coupon. You need not send any money now; we'll bill you for your $10 lifetime membership dues.



EDGAR DEGAS, *Danse d'Espagne*, recast in Foundry-Stone from the original bronze. Stands 17 inches high on a handsome matte black base.

BOARD OF ADVISORS

Pierre-Eugene Clairin, Professeur
Ecole Nationale des Beaux Arts
Paris, France

David F. H. C. Russell, Esq.
Collector
London and Surrey, England

Fred Conway
Professor of Drawing & Painting
Washington University

Siegfried Reinhardt
Artist in Residence
Southern Illinois University

Aldo Ponziani
Dottore in Storia e Filosofia
Scuola Leonardo da Vinci
Roma, Italia

Marvin Wildstein Director
Horizon Gallery
New York, New York

Mark Zucker
Lecturer in Fine Arts
Syracuse University

Anthony Fawcett
Art Critic
London, England

Sculpture Collectors

185 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016

Please enroll me as a member and send me my introductory gift of membership, *Danse d'Espagne* by Degas, recast in Foundry-Stone. If I choose, I may return it within 30 days, thereby canceling membership. Otherwise, I will pay my $10 lifetime dues. I have no obligation to buy anything, now or ever.

46-MO

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss (please print)

Address

City

State Zip

One membership per family.
Offer available only in the U.S.A.

45-2

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB®

from Washington

Who's This Hawk?

A few years ago if you said bombing might not win in Vietnam you were suspect. If you said American ground troops shouldn't fight in Asia you were shunned. How the national mood has changed! Nowadays Mr. Nixon sometimes seems almost to be pleading for negotiation. Juxtapose his comments with what the typical chauvinistic politician was declaiming only five or six years ago and you may be startled at the change of outlook.

Nixon (Feb. 18) "To demonstrate our willingness to wind down the war, I also ordered a reduction in the level of our military operations in Vietnam.
Hawk (1964) "One more surrender or retreat, and creeping Communism will become galloping Communism throughout that part of the world."

Nixon (Feb. 18) "The US has taken three major steps which we were told repeatedly would lead to serious negotiations."
Hawk (1964) "Optimists contend that we should reach agreement with our adversaries – as Chamberlain with Hitler at Munich in 1938."

Nixon (Dec. 15) "If Hanoi is willing to talk seriously they will find us flexible and forthcoming."
Hawk "What we must do is to instill a determination to win this crucial war – and win it decisively. Victory is essential to the survival of freedom."

Nixon (July 30) "Let us with determination and goodwill seek to put an end to the destruction and suffering which the people of Vietnam, North and South, have borne so long." (at Saigon)
Hawk "The war in South Vietnam is merely one battle in the whole campaign for Asia. Far more than this one country is at stake. The Communists' conquest would draw a line from pole to pole. Overnight, the US would cease to be a power in the world's greatest ocean."

Nixon (July, 1969) "We have stopped the bombing of North Vietnam."
Hawk "Certainly we should bomb the roads, bridges and supply routes into South Vietnam. We must make up our mind to win this war by whatever means short of nuclear attack seem most effective."

Nixon (Feb. 18) "We moved to demonstrate to a mistrustful adversary our willingness to negotiate seriously and flexibly."
Hawk "Those who like myself urge a 'win' policy can be expected to be charged with warmongering and endangering world peace. The contrary is true."

Nixon (Jan. 30) "I announced that our plan envisages the complete withdrawal of all American combat forces."
Hawk "We (under President Johnson) have no real intention of winning this war. Instead we are trying to achieve a precarious balance."

Nixon (Feb. 18) "The Chinese are a great and vital people who should not remain isolated from the international community."
Hawk "Sen. Fulbright suggested a reexamination of our policy toward Red China. Increasing talk of 'a more accommodating US policy' has had a massive impact in increasing the fear that Red China is riding the wave of the future."

Well, you guessed it. All those quotations (somewhat condensed) are from the same man – Richard Nixon. One was in office, one was seeking office. In August, 1964, *Reader's Digest* published an article, "NEEDED IN VIETNAM: THE WILL TO WIN, by Richard Nixon." He attacked LBJ for being soft on Communism, a standard technique. Doubtless he felt that he was saying the popular thing; what the silent majority wanted to hear. Hardly anybody writes this kind of stuff anymore, though the *Reader's Digest* is still faithful.

Conservative Congressman John Rarick (D, La.) inserted the *Digest* piece (which Mr. Nixon probably wishes he could forget) in the *Congressional Record*, Jan. 22. Rarick hails it for warning the country against a "no-win" policy: "his facts, his reasoning and his conclusions were absolutely correct," just as true now as then, he says. A doubtful compliment.

Kenneth Gross, 31, author of several novels, tried his hand at *Reader's Digest* for three months, but gave up last December. He tells his story amusingly in *Newsday* (Feb. 28). *RD* has a staggering 28,000,000 circulation with heaviest concentration in the over-50 age bracket. The earnings trend in 1969 showed a drop for the first time in history. *RD* hired Gross in an effort to win 25-to-35-year-old readers, having discovered that efforts to woo college students are unsuccessful. Everybody in the *RD* car lot at Chappaqua, N.Y., has an American flag decal on his car. Not compulsory of course, says Gross; you just get pointed reminders in the pay envelope if you don't.

RD faced a crisis: it had an atrocity piece about Tet already in the works when along came the My Lai massacre. Then there was the antiwar Moratorium in Washington. Both events upset the refined jingoism of the world's most popular magazine. Gross reveals that there is a sprinkling of doves on *RD*, misfits who don't believe in the magazine's patriotic thesis that war opponents ought to stay silent. Some tormented editors have resigned. They didn't like that piece by Spiro T. Agnew, "Enough of Government by Street Carnival." Editor Hobart Lewis tried to quiet the storm with an inter-office memo (Dec. 10). "Protests against the war," he wrote, "whatever their intent, do encourage the enemy and prolong the war." He urged a "self-imposed moratorium on dissent."

Gross got to looking through back copies. "Nixon had always been an *RD* favorite. During his years in exile, *RD* published articles by Nixon regularly. His book, *My Six Crises*, first appeared in *Reader's Digest*."

It's a lovely world at Chappaqua, Gross says, serene and high-paid and refined, where the few Negroes (very light skinned) eat together, and women editors know their place. A lovely place to work, says Gross. He quit.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 162, Number 12, Issue 2882, March 21, 1970. Published weekly (48 issues a year) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50c. Yearly subscription $12; Foreign $13; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6; Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright© 1970 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.*

Contents

9-11 Comment
Quality Education, A Washout
11 Two Against Rafferty – *Norman Melnick*
12 Wallace Rides Again – *Roger M. Williams*
13 Newsmen and Their Confidential Sources – *Abraham S. Goldstein*
15 The Nixon Watch: Lousing Up Laos – *John Osborne*
17 Reluctant Emigres: Poland's Last Jews Flee to the West – *Margaret Reynolds*
19 Post Office Blues – *David Sanford*
23 Mr. Nixon's Foreign Policy – *Hans J. Morgenthau*
26 The School Desegregation Debate – *Marian Edelman, Alexander M. Bickel*
31 Theater – *Stanley Kauffmann*
32 Books – Reviews by *Reed Whittemore, Leslie Schaffer*
33 Poem – *Carl Bode*
35 Poem – *James Reiss*
36 Correspondence

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – Alex Campbell
Literary Editor – Reed Whittemore
Films and Theater – Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editors – David Sanford, Joseph Featherstone, John Osborne
Production Manager – Ira Klafter
Assistant to the Editors – Gwen Somers
Contributing Editors – Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Robert Coles, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, James Ridgeway, Paul R. Wieck
S.E. Asia Correspondent – Zalin B. Grant
London Correspondent – Anthony Howard
Publisher – Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman
Business Manager – Reubena Faulconer
National Advertising Director – F. F. McAdams
Advertising Sales – Holly Reppert
20 West 43rd St., New York, N. Y. 10036

Poor Education

The President's long-awaited March 3 pronouncement on education turned out to be a mousy document. There will be a Commission on School Finance which will spend two years finding out why public and parochial education is going broke, which we already know: schools, especially big city schools, need more money for classrooms and teachers, and the only taxing authority that can supply it in sufficient quantity is the federal government. Nevertheless, the federal share in school expenses will be reduced from 8 percent in fiscal '68 to 6.6 percent in fiscal '70. Mr. Nixon endorses Commissioner of Education Allen's "Right to Read" program and recommends a network of experimental centers to discover what works best in early childhood education. No one has said what the "Right to Read" means, but whatever is made of it, the President wants it to have $84 million, money that will have to be taken from some other part of the budget. The "Early Learning" program ($52 million) will involve only poor children, and here too it is not known which existing or planned programs will be robbed to pay for it. Meanwhile, the country is starved for preschool and day care facilities. The Public Broadcast Corporation will be kept alive, the President hopes, but it will have to raise private money to match the federal funds it gets. A National Institute of Education is proposed, somewhat along the lines of the National Institutes of Health, to do more research, particularly on compensatory education, which Mr. Nixon judges a failure.

Underlying the President's case for not spending more on schools now are a number of reports made over the years casting doubt on the efficacy of Head Start or of programs under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Yet many of these programs were never designed simply to "improve education." They were intended to give cities some temporary relief, to buy peace in the ghettos, to persuade the poor that society cared about their children, to demonstrate a federal responsibility for education. There are no strict criteria by which *all* these different goals can be evaluated. We do, as the President says, need to know more about learning. But we do already know some elemental truths which Mr. Nixon barely mentions: hungry children don't learn; they don't learn much in understaffed and overcrowded classes; and city school systems that lurch from one financial crisis to another can't plan or provide a good education. And the irony of the President's calling for yet more

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

expert studies of school needs is that he had on his desk at the time a document which told him what those needs are – an "Urban Education Task Force Report" prepared by an advisory committee appointed by HEW Secretary Robert Finch and chaired by Wilson Riles, deputy superintendent of public instruction for California. The Administration had commissioned but not seen fit to release it publicly. However, a copy was leaked to Rep. Jeffery Cohelan, who had it inserted in the January 19th and 20th *Congressional Record*. It is an excellent statement of what's wrong with urban public education and how to begin setting things right.

Parts of the Riles Report are familiar: the cities are losing the affluent middle class, while their decaying centers fill up with the poor who need costly social services. But it also explains things many people don't understand: why big city schools are more expensive to run than schools elsewhere; how archaic state aid formulas, written in the days when city schools were disproportionately wealthy, discriminate against the cities by giving them less aid per capita than suburbs; how the high cost of urban social programs like welfare leaves cities proportionately less money for schools than the suburbs; and how the collapse of the parochial schools adds to city burdens. It draws a stark picture of decay and deterioration, with worse to come, as city voters turn down bond issue after bond issue and the poor rise up against the institutions that fail their youngsters. In Philadelphia, for instance, the '68-'69 school budget was slashed to the bone; only emergency funds provided by the state prevented the system from closing down May 1. The '68-'69 school year in Detroit ended with the schools $5 million in the red, even after severe budget cuts; school officials talk of deficits this year running $30- to $35-million. Defeat of tax and bond issues left a shortage of $32 million in the Los Angeles budget. In smaller cities the story is the same: deficits, bond issues turned down, degeneration of facilities and programs, the flight of good teachers who are fed up with these working conditions – all at a time when demands on schools are unprecedentedly heavy.

The President should have paid attention to the Riles Report's caution on "evaluations" of federal programs to date: we simply don't know what difference they might make if they were adequately funded over a long enough period. For example, Congress authorized $9 billion under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for "disadvantaged children," but no more than $3 billion has been spent. Between the '67-'68 and the '68-'69 school years, federal cutbacks of $68 million, combined with growing costs, meant there was actually $400 million less for poor children under Title I than in the first year of the program. Nationally, the increase in eligible children has meant there has been less and less money per capita to go around. By last spring in New York State, Title I funds per pupil had declined from $366 to $200. A number of reports on Title I from different sources have indicated that aid has been spread too thin or given to the wrong children, raising grave doubts as to the good faith and competence of local and state educational authorities. Even if it were all administered honestly and wisely, Title I doesn't amount to that much; the average per pupil expenditure is $95, not an impressive sum when measured against the national average per pupil expenditure of $700. And Title I is the only federal program that even nominally gives city children a fair share; all other federal aid to schools goes in disproportionate amounts to the suburbs.

The whole structure of education works against the interests of the cities. That structure includes the US Office of Education, whose benign neglect of cities and the poor in general is a major barrier to reform. The Riles Report recommends creating a Bureau of Urban Education to shepherd all the programs dealing with the cities, and suggests incentives to states that properly serve their urban populations. Clearly more money spent the same old way is not going to be enough; equally, there has to be more money. City schools should have top priority, the Riles Report says; we should start spending $471 million on them for a start, building up to appropriations of $7- to $14-billion (depending on the aid formula) by 1974. Title I should be fully funded. And while the committee favors the President's welfare proposals – though pointing out they would make little difference to big cities – it said that only education, not subsidy payments, stands a chance of providing a long-term solution to the welfare problem.

Rightly, the Report is critical of plans for sharing federal revenue with the states – which habitually cheat the cities. Moreover, it argues that reform of the schools should aim at transforming the entire curriculum and teaching practices, and not just focus on one subject like reading. It recommends cutting class size anywhere from 4 to 10 students per class. It insists on the necessity for integration – which the Nixon message barely touched on – and defends the eventual compatibility of the movement for community control of schools with integration. The Riles Report shows an awareness – rare in official documents on education – that ghetto schools need to build on the real strengths of their children, instead of treating them as "disadvantaged" deviants from some suburban norm.

The battle to save the city schools has two fronts: the fight for more money; and the fight to break educational rotten boroughs, old, rusty bureaucratic machinery remote from the people it was intended to serve. The Riles Report links the fight for the city schools to a larger urban battle whose outcome will determine whether or not America becomes two separate, hostile nations. The President's March 3 message suggests that, for the schools, at least, the cities will be fighting on their own.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Washout

"Aid for development does not usually buy dependable friends," remarked the Lester Pearson commission, which World Bank president McNamara had set to studying the problems of poor countries. It can even lose them, for instance by being a cover for the CIA; in Laos, CIA men pass as the Agency for International Development's "Rural Development Annex." President Nixon's own commission on foreign aid, appointed last September, ignores such unpleasant facts but does propose dismantling AID and replacing it with a new US development bank and other new institutions, topped by a coordinating International Development Council with a high-level chairman in the White House. What would be achieved thereby is hard to say. The Pearson report wanted aid increased to achieve a six percent annual growth rate for developing countries. The Peterson Report – Rudolph A. Peterson is president of the Bank of America and could be the aid man in the White House – is coy about both funding and targets. Its proposals could be a first step toward Senator Fulbright's goal of internationalizing foreign aid; on the other hand the report upholds bilateral aid, and says tartly that "the international organizations will have to take a less parochial view of their mission."

Senator Fulbright has condemned bilateral aid for "becoming a vehicle for deep American involvement in areas and issues which lie beyond both our vital interests and our competence." The Peterson report says a chief barrier to development is "unresponsive social and political systems." But by this it doesn't seem to mean the Thieu regime, Chiang Kai-shek, or Greek and Latin American juntas. The report expects that military aid to that sort of regime will go up not down, and it proposes bigger loans to Latin America even while admitting that these countries have what it delicately calls "a capital outflow" – the top fellows stash their boodle in Swiss accounts.

The US is providing as much development aid as all other assisting countries lumped together. Additionally, US *military* aid runs almost $3.5 billion a year, including Vietnam, and the report says that "as the United States reduces its forces overseas, increased security assistance may be needed for a time, to cushion the effect and to improve local security capabilities." What that could mean can be measured by the yardstick of what, according to the report, happens now: Washington not only provides the arms but pays for their operation and maintenance; in addition "US military missions do most of the detailed logistical planning . . ." Does the Peterson report request Mr. Nixon forthwith to butcher the sacred animal? On the contrary, it objects to Congress's attempted curbs on poor countries that waste aid by acquiring arms. "Removing [legislative restrictions] would put the United States in a better position to work out with those countries, on a mature partnership basis, military equipment expenditure policies . . ." Peterson is going to be a very popular fellow in Athens, Rio de Janeiro and Bangkok.

Still, the bleaker side has to be faced up to. The report concedes that developing countries are neck-deep in debt and that some of this can be blamed on "excessive military purchases." The debt actually adds up to a staggering $50 billion, and the cost of merely servicing it is increasing thrice as fast as the debtors' earnings are rising. So far, the problem has been kicked under the rug by "rescheduling the debt of countries about to default," in other words not embarrassing them by asking for the money. Fearing this can't go on, the report suggests as a partial answer further doses of lending but on softer terms, by the proposed US International Development Bank, using appropriated money to subsidize its loans. There is a better recipe: ruthlessly pruning credit for arms, and handing the American foreign aid contribution to the World Bank, its International Development Association, and other such international financial bodies.

Two Against Rafferty

San Francisco

The first black-brown race in California is proving an embarrassment to Californians aiming to unseat Mr. Maxwell Rafferty, the little-red-schoolhouse state superintendent of public instruction. Quite unexpectedly, two attractive candidates, both registered Democrats, have popped on the scene: Wilson C. Riles, the state's highest ranked black educator, and Julian Nava, a Chicano with a doctorate from Harvard. Attempts to persuade one of them to drop out of the June primary have failed. Democratic leaders, if not the two candidates, privately concede that as a result of the inevitable vote-splitting, Rafferty will probably sweep to a third four-year term in the primary, without a November runoff. Under California law, a candidate who gets over 50 per cent of the vote in a nonpartisan primary, as this one is, wins.

Riles, who as Rafferty's deputy is second in command of the huge California Department of Education, is doubtless ahead of Nava right now. Besides backing from the black community—about 10 percent of the vote – he is also expected to have the support of the powerful California Teachers Association and the California Democratic Council. As President Nixon's runnerup choice for US commissioner of education and as the former long-time director of California's respected compensatory education program, Riles is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

better known throughout the state. He is a handsome, TV-experienced man of 52.

Nava is 10 years younger. His political aspirations were encouraged by victory in the Los Angeles Board of Education election of 1967, making him the first minority member of the board. He teaches European history and Latin American affairs at San Fernando Valley State College, not too far from the Boyle Heights district of Los Angeles where he was raised in squalor. The official position of the state's Democrats is "hands off," though informally they are inclined toward Riles because he appears to have the better chance of winning.

Nava and Riles say their campaigns will attack Rafferty, not each other. However, it is recalled that Nava, aggressive and sharp of tongue, chose to announce his candidacy before a stunned black audience, the day before Riles planned to make his announcement.

At first Riles resisted Democratic blandishments to run against Rafferty, his boss. So Southern California party leaders turned to Nava, who asked for time to make up his mind. While this was happening, Riles, saying Rafferty was using him as "black window dressing," decided to become a candidate. Nava did too. They agree on most education issues, though they are somewhat apart on forced busing to achieve school integration. Nava approves of "voluntary busing." Riles says the main thrust ought to be for quality schools; if the objective is accomplished by busing, then it should be used. "Black parents are far more concerned with quality education than with just moving more bodies around," says Riles. He favors letting local school districts resolve problems of de facto segregation, a view shared by Nava. Both are opposed to teacher strikes, but favor collective bargaining.

Nava will push his campaign mostly in the Los Angeles megalopolis, where about two-thirds of the state's vote is. He spent only $75,000 to win his school board seat and talks confidently of doing the same statewide. He will have no formal organization but will depend on such groups as the Mexican-American Political Association, whose members are financially comfortable, conservatively oriented and influential in the broader Latin community. Riles has more money at his disposal and plans offices in all the major cities and sub-command posts elsewhere. He will undoubtedly receive a big chunk from the California Teachers Association and private support from some big money Democrats. It remains to be seen where the AFL-CIO California Federation of Teachers, usually poles apart from the teachers association, will put its support. Meanwhile, California schools are described by one educator as "most wanting – in resources, in staff and in end results."

Norman Melnick

MR. MELNICK *is assistant city editor on the San Francisco* Examiner.

Wallace Rides Again

Montgomery, Alabama

The telephone operators who answer "Wallace campaign" at George Wallace's headquarters have a lilt in their voices. Their man is back in action. The decision to run for governor was nevertheless galling. Wallace has been governor twice: once on his own and once as the lion under the throne. To have to return to that position, after running for President, is somewhat demeaning, though politically necessary. To generate momentum for a 1972 Presidential bid, which is all he really cares about, Wallace needs the forum that only a high elective office can provide. The Senate is out, because James Allen was elected two years ago and John Sparkman does not come up for reelection until 1972. A congressional seat would be too lowly, and a state legislative seat wholly out of the question. For almost a year and a half this ex-boxer turned savior of the white middle class, has been largely confined to Montgomery and the unglamorous role of titular head of the American Independent Party. He had to go *somewhere.*

Wallace is widely believed to have promised the incumbent governor, Albert Brewer, that he would not oppose him this year, in exchange for Brewer's defense of the Wallace Administration and his retention of key Wallace personnel in state jobs. Whether there was such a promise, Brewer has proved an able, shrewd politician. Aside from Wallace and Brewer, the only entrant of note is Jim Folsom, the zany old quasi-Populist from the north Alabama hills. Folsom may provide a touch of nostalgia, but the contest will be strictly between Wallace and Brewer. Alabama has one of the least vigorous of the South's ever-growing Republican parties; it is unlikely the GOP will even put up a gubernatorial candidate.

Wallace knows how to extract every drop of political juice from white Alabama's hangups. He has dominated state politics so completely that it is scarcely conceivable the state's voters would fail to give him any office he wanted. Still, Alabama politicians are saying that the incumbent, Albert Brewer, has a chance to win, and a few are saying – right out loud – that he has a good chance indeed. Most prominent among the latter is Robert Vance, the Birmingham attorney who is Democratic state chairman. Vance, a national Democrat, is a political enemy of Wallace, and his words must be weighed accordingly. He says Wallace is "in very bad trouble. . . . The polls are showing Brewer ahead, in some places way ahead." Ordinary campaigning is not going to make up the difference, Vance insists: "It's a different situation now than it's been before. For one thing, the school situation does not have people as upset as a lot of us figured. It's bad, sure, you hear people say, but this is not the time to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

agitate about it. More important is the idea of a full-time governor. In contrast to Wallace, Brewer has been on the job, and he's conducted himself with dignity. The voters are impressed by that."

Outsiders might think voters would be alienated by Wallace's blatant attempt to use the governor's mansion as a stepping stone to the Presidency, but they would be wrong. To a vast number of whites, he is still "our George."

Yet Wallace no longer has a monopoly on defiance. Southern politicians have been doing rather well lately without him. Thanks to some Northern senators and to Nixon's Southern Strategy, they have lately won legislative and administrative victories Wallace was never able to win. Brewer, as one of the "Mobile Four," the four Southern governors who met in Mobile recently to denounce prompt desegregation of schools, can claim part of the credit for these victories.

Brewer will stress that he is an on-the-job governor and a conservative who can be trusted to keep Alabama as segregated as possible without actually defying the federal government; Wallace will remind the folks, over and over, that he was long ago ordained to preserve the Alabama way of life. His key issues, as they have been for years, will be Washington and the schools, and he will couple them with an appeal to help keep the Wallace "movement" alive nationally by boosting the leader into another Presidential race. At the press conference announcing his candidacy, Wallace said that he wants to be governor again so he can "get the national government off our necks" and "return the public schools to the people of Alabama." But he also mentioned taxing the utilities and expanding the state college system, a tacit admission that simply hollering nigger may not be enough to win this time.

Wallace's base is obvious: the white people whose fears he plays upon. "The Wallace magic still lives," says a Mobile political observer. "The board chairman may say, 'We need a governor who'll stay home and take care of the state's business,' but the little man doesn't care about that. He's still proud of Wallace, and he'll vote for him." If the little man really is this steadfast for Wallace, Brewer needs the vote of everybody else to have a chance of winning. Ray Jenkins, editorial page editor of the *Alabama Journal*, puts it this way: Brewer needs the black support that white liberal Richmond Flowers got running against Lurleen Wallace in the 1966 primary, plus all the votes Republican Jim Martin got running against her in the 1966 election; that will bring Brewer up to 35 or 40 percent of the vote; he will have to get the rest from whites disenchanted with Wallace.

Other observers, including Chairman Vance, stick to a simpler formula. The largest voter group in Alabama, they say, is made up not of flat-out racists but of "respectable conservatives," people who want the blacks and the feds held in check, but don't want public hysteria and retarded economic development. These are the voters Brewer must wean away from Wallace during the next two months. Perhaps he can do it, but the odds are against him.

Roger M. Williams

Newsmen and Their Confidential Sources

The outrage with which the news media greeted recent efforts by federal prosecutors to subpoena reporters' notes and TV tapes, and the hasty retreat beaten by Attorney General Mitchell, has obscured from view just how unsatisfactory the ultimate resolution was. The public was left with the impression that Mitchell had violated a right of newsmen to keep their notes and tapes confidential and that indignation had brought him to heel. The fact, however, is that in the federal system and in three-fourths of the states, reporters have no more right than the rest of us to withhold information demanded by the subpoena of a court, grand jury or legislative committee. Nevertheless, Mitchell concluded that it would be impolitic to press his power to the limit in the overheated atmosphere now surrounding Black Panthers and Weathermen. He proposed instead to negotiate in the future, rather than peremptorily to subpoena newsmen's files.

In short, the Attorney General reverted to what has long been the practice. Such "negotiation" inevitably involves a bargaining process in which the weak will feel pressed to divulge information while the strong will not. In 1945, for example, a congressional committee, which had voted a contempt citation for a well-known newsman who had refused to divulge his sources, reversed itself after it was subjected to a barrage of press criticism. And Mitchell himself is following the "prudent" course lest the major media beat him in the court of public opinion.

The uncertainty as to when and where the journalist and his records are to be protected is fed by the paucity of case law. The Supreme Court has never dealt with the issue, and there are relatively few state decisions, in part because "negotiation" keeps cases out of courts. If we lived in a time when government investigators were less demanding, or seemed more sensitive to the value of confidentiality, or when the need for a strong and critical press was less clear, the currently ambiguous situation might be tolerable. But this is not such a time. The paranoid tendencies latent in a mass society are running unusually strong these days and make all the more essential a clear standard which strikes the proper balance between the demands

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of confidentiality and those of the public interest. The usual rule regarding subpoenas is that they compel disclosure of all information, written or oral, relevant to the concerns of the investigative or judicial body which issued them. The person who refuses to comply may be held in contempt and remitted to custody until he testifies. The underlying principle is that a rational society, and intelligent decision-making, depend upon a free exchange of information and that society is entitled to demand of its citizens that they make their knowledge available. Though it is currently fashionable to treat such demands as invasions of privacy, they can as easily be viewed as contributions to the common welfare. For every license to withhold information obviously carries with it the risk that a crime might not be discovered or successfuly prosecuted, or that the innocence of a defendant might not be established, or that a legislative policy might not be intelligently formulated. It is after all an "establishment" press which will be withholding information from the official establishment. The sources and the information protected today may involve Black Panthers and the SDS. Tomorrow, they may involve disclosure of corruption or abuse of power among public officials or corporate executives.

The news media themselves have been the most vigorous champions of access to all sorts of records and proceedings. And when confronted by governmental agencies with claims of an executive or legislative privilege to withhold information, they have been justifiably suspicious that such claims might be made less to protect the public interest than to subvert it. In this spirit, they have sought legal endorsement for their position through "right to know" laws and the federal Freedom of Information Act. Newsmen, therefore, occupy the uneasy position of espousing a right of access to the government's files while denying governmental access to their files. In doing so, they are placing the need to protect their sources, and their news-gathering procedures and relationships, above the state's right to a full investigation or a fair trial.

Despite the inconsistency of this position, there is ample precedent for it. We find in constitutional law the principle that truth is not an end in itself. The most conspicuous illustration is the limit on official inquiry inhering in the privilege against self-incrimination. The testimonial privileges also restrict official inquiry: husband and wife may not be compelled to disclose their communications with one another; the priest may not disclose his penitent's confession; the attorney may not reveal the secrets of his client. In many states, comparable protection is given to communications between physician and patient, accountant and client, social worker and client, psychologist and patient.

The recent outcry of the news media is in effect a claim for parity of treatment with the other professional groups. They argue that there is a strong public interest in freedom of communication within the journalist-informant relationship, and that such interest transcends the particular legislative or judicial or investigative interest in learning the content of the communication. They argue, in addition, that the disclosures are usually made in reliance on a promise that they will be treated as confidential; that the failure to protect such disclosures will dry up essential sources of information; and that adherence to their professional code of ethics will expose them to charges of contempt.

These assertions are far more credible for newsmen than they are for the other professionals. Most disclosures are made to an attorney because the client wants the best possible advice and because he realizes that he will be the loser if he withholds the raw materials on which such advice should be predicated. The patient tells all to his physician because he wants to be diagnosed and treated properly. Information is given to social workers, teachers and guidance counselors because there is a problem which calls for help. The persons who make such communications probably know very little about the degree to which their confidences may be disclosed in the future; but if they did, the immediate interest in getting good advice would probably prevail, the communication would be made, and the professional relationships would remain viable.

In the case of a journalist's privilege, the informant does not risk his health or liberty or fortune or soul by withholding information. He is likely to be moved by baser motives – spite or financial reward – or, on occasion, by a laudable desire to serve the public welfare if it can be done without too much jeopardy. His communication, more than the others, is probably the result of a calculation and more likely to be affected by the risk of exposure. In this instance, compelling the disclosure of a confidential source in one highly publicized case really is likely to restrict the flow of information to the news media. And by doing so, it may well interfere with the freedom of press guaranteed by the First Amendment.

In fourteen states, legislatures have been persuaded to enact statutes which protect the newsmen's sources. In eight of the states, the protection is absolute. In the remaining six, however, the privilege may be invoked only if the material derived from these sources has been published. Of the two solutions, the latter seems preferable because it strikes a balance in favor of the newsman only if he has indeed served the public by publishing the information and adding to society's store of knowledge. But it does not entirely meet either the need or the current problem. In some cases, the sources should be protected even if nothing has yet been presented to the public. And in others, the information should be protected as well as the source if vigorous reporting is to be encouraged.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A newsman cannot be expected to learn what the Black Panthers or Weathermen or heroin users are doing unless he operates in an atmosphere of reciprocal confidentiality. He must be free to explore in detail, but at his own pace and in his own way. Interference with that exploration by official demands for information may make it immeasurably more difficult for the reporter to gain access in the future. For he will appear, after he has responded to a subpoena, to have been a police spy using deceptive practices in order to obtain information which would not otherwise have been disclosed to him.

The dilemma is a real one. It is relatively easy to justify protecting a confidential source when the public has been given the benefit of information obtained from that source. It is far more difficult when the newsman asks for immunity from subpoena for sources and information he may never expose to public view at all. For these problematic situations, a judge should be authorized, each time the privilege is asserted, to decide whether or not the investigative or adjudicative interest is great enough to override the public interest in confidentiality and a free press. As in the law of "government privilege" and self-incrimination, this could in most instances be determined by appraising the context in which the problem arises and the relative importance of the competing interests, without requiring the disclosure of the privileged material to the judge.* The bill recently introduced by Rep. Richard Ottinger (D, N.Y.) adopts such an approach for the federal government and, with some modifications, might serve as a model "Newsman's Privilege" statute for states as well.

Disclosures to journalists are only a special instance of a much larger problem which has not yet received the attention it deserves. Communications are regularly made to schools, employers, banks, stores and the military on the erroneous assumption either that they will remain confidential or that they will be used for a limited purpose. Inadequately protected by law, they make up a fund of information which is increasingly available to public and private investigators. As the pace of inquiry and computerization increases, so also will the temptation to use these "dossiers." The current controversy between the prosecutors and the news media serves to remind us once again that our confidences are protected far less than we realize, and that a more sensitive law of confidential communications is long overdue.

Abraham S. Goldstein

Mr. Goldstein *will become dean of Yale University Law School in July and is the author of* The Insanity Defense *(1967).*

*There remains the question whether issues must be resolved by statute, or whether they might be dealt with as a matter of constitutional law under the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

The Nixon Watch

Lousing Up Laos

Enormous care and effort went into the preparation of the "precise description of our current activities in Laos" that Mr. Nixon submitted to the American public on March 6. He got the assent of the National Security Council to a degree of disclosure that he and two of his predecessors, Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, had not previously considered to be in the national interest. Nixon then assigned to his assistant for national security affairs, Henry A. Kissinger, the task of making certain that the disclosure was in fact precise if not complete, wholly credible, beyond any possible criticism on the grounds of inaccuracy or deceit. Kissinger undertook the task with characteristic and ferocious zeal. He warned the Departments of State and Defense, the military services, the CIA, the aid agency, the several subagencies that participate in clandestine operations in Vietnam and Laos that the officials who provided him with requested data would be fired if any of the information turned out to be incomplete, inaccurate or misleading in any way. Every American who could be fairly said to be "stationed in Laos" was to be identified, his or her activities were to be precisely defined, and military operations, air and ground, conducted in and over Laos were to be reported to him in equally meticulous detail. Kissinger and his staff had access to the secret testimony recently taken by Senator Symington's subcommittee on the Laos involvement, and took special care that the figures and assertions of fact incorporated in the Nixon statement should conform with the Symington record, when and if a sanitized version of it is published.

Equal care attended certain corollaries. The one new and positive action that the President and his advisers could think of, apart from the factual disclosure, was an appeal to Soviet Premier Kosygin to join British Prime Minister Wilson in working with other signatories of the 1962 Geneva Accords for restoration of the terms that then, in theory, guaranteed the peace and neutrality of Laos. Wilson and Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma of Laos had already made the same request, without effect. The United States had previously refused to formally join or support such requests to the Soviet Government, in connection with the Laos and Vietnam conflicts, in the belief that the Soviets would refuse and that it was idle to waste what goodwill there was between Washington and Moscow on a predictably vain gesture. Given the present decision to make the gesture, the normal course would have been to forewarn the Soviet Government of the public announcement. This was not done before the morning of March 6 because, if the request had been privately rejected before it was announced, the President could not have opened his Laos statement, as he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

did, with his one and only show of positive action for peace in Laos.

Much thought also went into the form of the announcement and the extent to which Nixon would personally identify himself with it. He could have delivered the whole on national television, as he did his November 3 speech on Vietnam. He could have recorded and filmed parts of it for radio and television, as he sometimes does with quite minor statements. He did neither. He postponed the statement until he had arrived and was settled at his Florida retreat on Key Biscayne for a long (Friday-Sunday) weekend. He remained in seclusion when his staff issued a written statement in his name and followed it with the kind of special, though by now hardly unusual, background briefing at which reporters are exposed to the guidance and wisdom of the highest available "White House officials." The reporters present are not supposed to translate this into "White House official," but some do.

The central purpose of the statement and of the supplementary briefing was to put to rest "grossly inaccurate" reports and "intense public speculation" to the effect that "the United States involvement in Laos has substantially increased in violation of the Geneva Accords, that American ground forces are engaged in combat in Laos and that our air activity has had the effect of escalating the conflict." Mr. Nixon acknowledged that "our air activity" has increased, both to inhibit North Vietnam's reinforcement of its units in South Vietnam over the Ho Chi Minh trails through northern Laos, and in direct support of Laotian government forces fighting North Vietnamese and Laotian Communist forces in Laos. This the United States would continue to do, along with the supply, training and field support of "regular and irregular Laotian forces" so long as this was "necessary to protect American lives in Vietnam and to preserve a precarious but important balance in Laos" – and also necessary, the President said, "to prevent the recognized Laotian government from being overwhelmed by larger Communist forces dominated by the North Vietnamese." But the major intent of his statement and of the briefer's amplification was to minimize the American involvement in ground combat in Laos. Of a total of 1040 Americans stationed in Laos, in direct government employ or on contract, 320 were military advisers and trainers, 323 were suppliers, and (the briefer said) a little over 200 of these were military personnel. Three sentences in the Nixon statement drove home the point: "There are no American ground combat troops in Laos. We have no plans for introducing ground combat forces into Laos," and – in an assertion that Kissinger had worked hard and carefully to document beforehand – "No American stationed in Laos has ever been killed in ground combat operations."

This was Nixon's only reference to American casualties and other losses in Laos. He left it to his briefer to divulge, with a good deal of fumbling and correction, that in the neighborhood of 400 Americans (mostly airmen) had been killed or listed missing in six years, that some 400 aircraft had been lost, and that less than 50 civilians, later amended to 26 and then reestimated at less than 50, had been killed or listed as missing. The briefer repeatedly emphasized that no American, military or civilian, had been killed in ground combat, from which the reporters were invited to deduce that none had been or is engaged in ground combat. It turned out that at least one American, Captain Joseph Bush of Temple, Texas, who was stationed in Laos and serving with Laotian troops, had been killed in what any reasonable person would consider "ground combat operations." He was shot down by North Vietnamese commandoes on the night of February 11, 1969, while he was shooting at them and trying to repel an attack on the compound where he slept. A *Los Angeles Times* reporter with the Nixon press party in Miami told the White House staff on Saturday night, March 7, that the *Times* had a report to this effect from Don Schanche, a free-lancer who was in Laos at the time. The story appeared in the next morning's Sunday *Miami Herald* and a Nixon press spokesman dealt with it Sunday noon in these words: "The only comment that we would have would be that the President said on Friday there have been no Americans stationed in Laos killed in ground combat operations. A thorough check of the agency records showed that to be correct and still shows that to be correct."

Question: "Was the President aware of Captain Bush's death and the circumstances of it when he made that statement?"

Answer: "No."

Question: "Was the death of Captain Bush known to the official who prepared the statistics for the President?"

Answer: "As I said earlier, the records were thorough checked before the statement was made."

Question: "That would indicate he was?"

Answer: "No, that would indicate that he was not, that it was not [known to the official]."

So went, in Miami and afterward in Washington, the most inept performance that I have observed at the Nixon White House. Kissinger, who was in Miami with the President, was consulted before the unfortunate press officer who handled the initial inquiries dealt with them as he did. Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler said in Washington that it all was done "on White House authority," which had to mean if it meant anything that it was done on the President's authority. The later admission that Captain Bush had been awarded a posthumous Silver Star for gallantry, and that American military personnel in Laos draw combat pay – the Pentagon called it "hostile fire pay" and the White House followed suit – did not shake the official insistence that Nixon had been correct and remained correct in his statement that "No American stationed in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Laos has ever been killed in ground combat action." The sole concession to common sense was the announcement that American casualties and aircraft losses in Laos would henceforth be disclosed when or soon after they occur – excepting casualties and losses from fighting on the Laos-Vietnam border.

It was a strange but instructive performance. It indicated that the President, Kissinger, and the others involved at the White House were so obsessed with their original determination to minimize the fact or possibility of American involvement in another ground war in Southeast Asia that they were incapable of perceiving the extent to which Mr. Nixon's credibility had been impaired in the effort to preserve it.

John Osborne

Poland's Last Jews Flee to the West

Reluctant Emigrés

by Margaret Reynolds

"Soon there will be only fifteen Jews left in Poland: Jesus, Mary, the Twelve Apostles, and Gomulka's wife." A refugee's joke Polish Jews tell to strangers while they sit round the rummy tables or sip lemon in the reception centers of Vienna, Rome, Copenhagen, and Stockholm. For once the wild Jewish humor seems deadpan, understated, as hundreds of exiles stream across Polish borders every week, their citizenship left behind with most of their excess baggage.

No one knows how many of the estimated 25,000 Jews who lived in Poland up to 1967 have since left for the West in the backwash of the Six Day War, which inspired Communist accusations that the Jews were potential "Fifth Columnists." Probably far fewer than 10,000 remain, if we credit government figures, the reports of Jewish agencies and Western observers, out of a total Polish population of 32.5 million. Last September, the reported deadline for issuing exit permits (not yet enforced), the Jewish community began to shrink even faster. Pouring out of Warsaw on the "Chopin Express," a thousand refugees a month have headed for Vienna, according to the American Joint Distribution Committee. Before the year's end, only the old and infirm may be left as representatives of what was once Europe's richest Jewish culture.

To the Gomulka regime the exiles are Zionists, though few so far have resettled in Israel. In their own eyes they are Poles first, Jews second. Within the refugee ranks are many of such diluted "Jewish origins" that they would have difficulty qualifying as Jews under Israel's Law of Return. Some have never been inside a synagogue; a goodly number have been baptized, even educated in Polish Catholic schools; a few are surprised to discover (until the Jewish Section of the Ministry of the Interior unearths the fact) that they had a Jewish grandmother. But their true homeland, says Section Organizer Tadeusz Walichnowsky and a corps of government spokesmen, is not Poland but Israel. Walichnowsky repeatedly has compiled, since 1967, a card index of 300,000 "half-Jews," whose future may be open to question.

What finally prompts Polish Jews to leave a land they have clung tenaciously to in the past – despite family losses in the concentration camps, the war, and the Stalinist purges of the '50s?

"I felt I had no future in Poland," a 22-year-old architect told me soon after his arrival in Copenhagen. "I could be a Pole but not a Jew." With his sister, an ophthalmologist, and his father, a lawyer, Zev journeyed to Denmark, refusing offers of Israeli aid and privately raising the 5000 zlotys (or more than two months' average wages) for each exit permit. "How can I decide to go to Israel?" he asks. "I have never been outside Poland in my life. One must have time."

He and his family are among the 260 émigrés who live aboard the *St. Laurence*, an aging but smug ship in Copenhagen's harbor that serves as reception center for the new arrivals. In all, 2000 Polish Jews have made their way to Denmark in the past 18 months. Only the students have any memory of police harassment or arrest under the Gomulka regime, and then chiefly if they took part in the student demonstrations of February and March 1968. For the rest, it is dismissal from Communist party posts for suspected Zionism; ostracism by non-Jewish friends; loss of

---

Margaret Reynolds *is a British journalist who recently visited Denmark.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

work or – particularly galling to a hard-working official – demotion to a vacant desk in an empty office. All receive 24 Danish kroner a day (roughly $3.25), along with free housing, public transport, medical care and drugs. The Refugee Council and the Jewish Union, both private organizations, see to it that individuals get enrolled in a Danish language course (right now there is a month-long wait) and provide help with jobs and rehousing. The Danish government picks up the major bills and actually grants the newcomers political asylum within a few weeks under the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees.

This rankles Warsaw, which insists that the departing Jews are not refugees but *emigrants* who leave of their own free will. Poland stoutly denies all charges of anti-semitism. In an open letter to the Danish public last December, the Polish Embassy's press secretary in Copenhagen explained simply that Jews had to be removed from sensitive posts after the June '67 War because their Zionist tendencies made them security risks. (He then compared Israel's offensive against Egypt with the Nazi attack on Poland in 1939.)

Certainly the predicament of Polish Jews has its ironies. Unlike Russia's three million Jews, most of whom reportedly would like to emigrate to Israel but cannot, this highly assimilated group of middle-class professionals, civil servants and scientists preferred to remain in Poland. The state, however, thought otherwise, for reasons still hotly debated by Western observers and the refugees themselves. In a systematic campaign the Gomulka government began three years ago to make the state finally "Judenrein." The Jews were free to leave – but at a price.

How high the price comes may be gauged by official demands for exit fees often in excess of two years' earnings from the departing Jews. If they have completed their university education, they must reimburse the state in full. They must also surrender their apartments and pay for their complete repair, and submit to heavy taxation on any valuables they seek to take out. Perhaps the severest penalty, for men taking up life in a new country, has been the enforced surrender of school diplomas, professional credentials, sometimes even work references. Before their exodus they renounce their Polish citizenship and with this any claim to reciprocal pension rights in the West.

Sometimes the border guards can be even more rigorous. The young mother of a four-month-old baby told the *St. Laurence*'s senior volunteer worker, of having to give up her pram at the frontier. A discreet appeal to *Berlingske Tidende*, Denmark's largest newspaper, brought 32 prams to the dock that weekend.

The Danes have accepted this latest influx in the same pragmatic spirit as they resettled two thousand Czech refugees after August 1968. These are now self-supporting and, thanks to a four-month-long intensive language course, able to cope with subtle Danish vowels and glottal stops. There is some grumbling in Copenhagen that the refugees put a severe strain on housing, already scarce; so efforts are being made to send newcomers to other cities like Aarhus and Aalborg in Jutland. Although Denmark is a net importer of labor (about 20,000 workers a year from Western Europe, Turkey and Yugoslavia), it takes delicate tuning to fit doctors, dentists, engineers and economists from Eastern Europe into the economy.

Such is the nature of Poland's reluctant "brain drain." Can the regime, with its severe economic difficulties, afford it? Michael Zylberberg of the Institute of Contemporary History in London points to the post-war population bulge in Poland. Finding jobs for this new generation has become imperative for Gomulka if he is to hold on to popular support. Here, Zylberberg believes, the party leader invoked the aid of his Minister of the Interior, Gen. Mieczyslaw Moczar, in a new anti-semitic campaign thinly disguised as anti-Zionism. Once the Jews were identified as "Fifth Columnists" (in Gomulka's famous speech of June 1967), it became possible to remove them from the middle and higher echelons of party power many had occupied since the birth of the regime.

And what of the reported power struggle between Gomulka and Moczar? Some observers see Moczar, with his superpatriotic "Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy," seeking to topple the party chief by aligning himself with native anti-semitism. Gomulka, in this view, was opposed from the first but reluctantly acceded to the present campaign.

One man who disputes this is Mickal Mirski, a former Warsaw journalist and literary critic who helped lead the Writers' Union fight for greater liberalism, less censorship, from 1962 on. The difference between the two party leaders is one of tactics, as he sees it, with Gomulka the moving spirit behind current anti-semitism and Moczar its organizer.

It was the "Prague Spring" of 1968 that posed the most serious threat to the present Polish regime, Mirski says. Gomulka was concerned to insulate the workers from any liberalizing student influence like that developing in Czechoslovakia. When Warsaw students demonstrated in early 1968, he quickly moved to blame Jewish instigators and succeeded in dividing his left opposition.

A hint of how well anti-semitism has "taken" came from a Danish liberal M.P., Eva Ree, who recently returned from a fact-finding tour of Polish schools.

"I asked every academic, every politician I met: 'Is there a Jewish problem?' "

"The answer was always the same: 'You cannot have two native countries!' "

(The echo is from Gomulka's speech to the Sixth Congress of Trade Unions: "Every citizen of Poland can have only one fatherland." To which some wag muttered, "But why does it have to be Egypt?")

Mirski comes out of the authentic Yiddish traditions

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that once flourished side by side with native Polish culture. A prolific writer in both languages, he was hard at work on a new play about Jephthah's daughter ("an allegory about Polish Jews") when I arrived. He worked closely with Ida Kaminska and the Jewish Theater until last year when she and leading members of her company fled to the United States.

Jewish cultural life, as he paints it, is not so much prohibited as slowly starved of oxygen. The Yiddish daily *Folks Shtimme* has lost most of its contributors and now appears as a weekly. Authors who write in Yiddish must first translate their works into Polish before publication, costly and – the sad eyes darken – "sadistic." Jewish children's schools have been closed, along with many cultural centers.

To most of Copenhagen's refugees this loss is regrettable but remote from their lives. The young, whose second language is apt to be Russian, not Yiddish, are intent on blending in with the city's gemütlich style of life. In their spare time they study English, strangely enough the *lingua franca* in the ship's babel of tongues. The children enroll immediately in Danish schools and spend their afternoons in the ship's ballroom which is now converted to a playroom. They seem a highly motivated group, urban, secular, unself pitying. They skimp on food and send some pocket money to Poland to bring relatives out.

The *St. Laurence* which began life as a riverboat between Montreal and smaller Quebec ports, lacks cooking facilities or a restaurant for its passenger émigrés. Many improvise meals in their rooms instead of eating out; a favorite way is to heat canned foods with water from the coffee urn, a practice blamed for a recent outbreak of stomach disorders. Hospital admissions for all illnesses have run as high as ten percent on the ship alone.

By the end of April 1970 the Refugee Council plans to have all 260 passengers adequately rehoused. Meanwhile no one is complacent about this tricky, open-end situation in which the number of refugees could double overnight. Least of all the Danes. A spokesman at the Ministry of Justice told me that Denmark stands ready to take as many Polish exiles as wish to apply. In the face of a chronic balance of payments problem, swinging inflation (71 percent in the past ten years) and some worrisome "islands of unemployment," such an attitude is remarkable.

Clearly many exiles are impressed by Denmark's open-door policy. They remember, too, how the Danes rescued most of their Jewish population in 1943 by ferrying them to Sweden. Others, lifelong socialists, prefer the Danish brand of social democracy to the political life of Italy or Austria. They might also opt for Sweden, but for its much more selective intake.

King Frederick IX, who is so accessible that his phone number is listed prominently in the Danish directory, got a measure of Jewish gratitude last Christmas Eve. In a telegram to the palace they thanked him for granting political asylum and wished him a happy Christmas in the name of "Two thousand refugees who feel for the first time in twenty-five years what freedom and democracy mean."

The Mail That Costs More and Comes Sometime

Post Office Blues

by David Sanford

The Post Office so far hasn't yielded to the American belief that a problem, once isolated, can be solved if enough intelligence and money are put to work. Improving the service and becoming associated with its improvement should appeal to politicians; about everyone gets mail, sometime. Yet the Post Office, as a vexation, has become a dreary perennial. New exposés are published and are filed away alongside the story of the three weeks in 1966, during which the massive Chicago post office ceased to function while 10 million pieces of mail went undelivered.

The Post Office is one of the country's largest employers (with jobs for 716,000 persons) and spenders ($6.3 billion a year). The dozen fragmented and antagonistic postal unions represent 620,000 workers. So many people, organized in any fashion, are a political force Congress does not ignore. And the postal workers are a particularly conservative lot, as jealous of the status quo as any featherbedding railroad men. Their pay is relatively good. Job

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

security and pension are assured. And although they do not enjoy the right to strike, they have found Congress a responsive employer. The unions have opposed any kind of postal reform that would diminish their power – especially the Nixon Administration reform plan, original to the Johnson years – that would supplant the post office with a public corporation and collective bargaining (though retaining the ban against strikes).

President Johnson waited until his final State of the Union message to endorse the recommendations of his postal commission, in part because Marvin Watson, his friend and last Postmaster General, opposed them, but also in deference to the opposition of the unions. Labor management relations at the PO suffer from a perverse sort of role reversal. The Postmaster General, whoever he may be at the moment and for the length of his service which typically is two and a half years, continually complains about poor working conditions, lack of career opportunities, rundown, unmodern, dirty, poorly lit, poorly air conditioned facilities. Labor seems to care little about these aspects of their life, and is willing to abide them to preserve its cozy relationship with Congress in the matter of wages. Nearly every enacted postage increase is tied to a pay raise that eats up additional revenue. The unions' detractors think they wouldn't know how to do it any other way, that their idea of bargaining is throwing a dinner party for a friendly House member.

Mail users, all of them, want service improved without paying more postage. The mail is viewed as a government service; second and third class mailers in particular resist suggestions that the Post Office, with its $1.3 billion deficit, should be made self-supporting. Cutting the deficit could mean huge, uneconomic rate increases. The Nixon plan, intended to result in a break-even administration, would charge mailers what the service is thought to cost. In doing so, it might put magazines and some newspapers out of business, meanwhile raising postage for all classes of mail beyond levels people are willing to pay. (The Administration argument is that a properly conducted, adequately mechanized, newly efficient postal corporation would cost less to run in the long run.) Rate setting, too, would pass from Congress to Presidentially appointed directors who would administer the service.

Nearly everyone agrees that service is bad and getting worse. It is not unusual for a coast-to-coast airmail letter to take ten days, intracity mail two days or longer, and for weekly publications that depend for sales on their topicality to arrive a week to 10 days late. Periodical publishers have had to go to elaborate lengths to ensure that subscribers receive copies soon after publication. *National Journal*, the new research service which reports weekly on government actions, sends its limited circulation publications first class. Its publisher says the firm was not able to get assurance from the Post Office that mailing *NJ* second class would be satisfactory, despite the fact that most of *NJ*'s subscribers are in Washington and need only good local service. *NJ* is mailed from Washington on Saturday, and to guarantee Monday delivery for itself chooses to pay $.36 to $.42 postage per copy. That rate would bankrupt mass circulation magazines with their relatively low subscription rates. But *NJ* can afford it, although it doesn't like it, because its subscribers pay as much as $70 per week.

W. D. Patterson, vice president of *Saturday Review*, Inc., says *SR*'s "problem is one of incredible delays. It eventually gets through anywhere from on time to two or even three weeks late." Officials of *US News* say they have the same problem. Because second class rates vary according to distance and because service is so unreliable, some publishers have either established printing plants in various parts of the country – bringing the factory to the customers – or truck publications to regional centers from which they are mailed. *The New Republic* early this year began publishing a western edition, printed in Los Angeles, in an effort to speed delivery.

It has been impossible to get a consensus on postal reform, even among people with similar interests, because of pervasive fears that The Solution will in one way or another be worse than The Problem. *Readers Digest*, for instance, does not consider prompt delivery a crucial matter. Monthlies do not qualify under Post Office rules for special rapid handling and are consigned to slow freight trains and pokey delivery. But monthlies are less perishable than weekly news magazines and therefore care more about rates than about speedy service. If the Post Office were to be made self-supporting, and if second class rates were raised to accomplish that end, *Readers Digest* would object. The *Digest* with 17.5 million domestic subscribers can afford to assign personnel full-time to working with the Post Office and currying favor. Better service would interest the *Digest* only if it didn't cost more money. "If they're going to give better service and not charge for it that's something else again." *RD* officials would prefer to see the Post Office, and the second class rate structure, left alone.

Stanley Cohen, the Washington editor of *Advertising Age*, a weekly trade magazine with 60,000 subscribers, has been writing about the Post Office, with a special feeling for the interests of his employer, for nearly 20 years. *Ad Age* qualifies for special "red tag" treatment given "perishables" and, like other weeklies, is more concerned about service than rates. Cohen agrees with the Second Class Mail Publications, Inc., an association largely composed of dailies and weekly publications, that limited rate increases would be tolerable if there were assurances that service would

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

improve dramatically. The rate bill passed by Congress three years ago included a provision for a new "second class by air" service that would use airplanes on what is called a "space-available" basis (that is, after first class letters and air mail have been accommodated). But the Post Office, empowered to establish rates for air second class, set them uneconomically high from the viewpoint of the second class mailers – more than twice the regular rate – and as a consequence the rates have been withdrawn and the service never used.

Cohen and others attribute most of the Post Office's delivery problems to the decline of passenger trains. Recently the Post Office experimented with "commingling" all but first class and air mail in containers and sending it by slow freight. It was a fiasco. Postal officials have told Cohen they likely now will try increased use of trucking. Ideally, he says, they "want to create a service by which they can identify the 'time-value' mail so that when it leaves the point of origin, through computer communications it is flagged so that it is expected somewhere and gets rush handling." The Administration is also reportedly going to propose a "two tier" system for first class mail, whereby senders willing to pay 10 cents per ounce postage would be guaranteed overnight delivery within metropolitan areas. Users unconcerned with speed would pay six or seven cents. For magazines, air second class is a solution if rates can be set that will not break users.

The problem of ascertaining the cost of service for each class is at the root of the postal deficit. Taxpayers now assume the deficit because first class and air mail rates are set arbitrarily low, and any attempt to shift the cost to second and third class mailers is resisted by businessmen screaming bankruptcy. They argue convincingly that the only effect of substantial increases would be ruin for them and a shifting of costs to first class users.

For all the Administration's talk of improved service, the Post Office under Winton Blount has abandoned the premium on swift delivery. Instead it emphasizes efficiency, maximum utilization of personnel, facilities and equipment. While espousing fast service in public statements ("Late mail," Nixon said in his postal reform message May 27, 1969, "whether a birthday card or a proxy statement, is often no better than lost mail"), the Administration has discontinued same-day delivery in urban business areas as too expensive. In business areas, where there were three deliveries a day, Nixon has cut them to two. What is more, the Post Office has discontinued the sorting of mail at some local dispatch points, transmitting it for sorting to distant underutilized facilities. The result is more efficient use of plants and, in many cases, slowed delivery.

Overnight delivery of first class mail – an objective if not always an achievement of the Post Office for the last decade – has been given up. Last November, ostensibly to speed up delivery of Christmas mail, the Post Office, quietly and without consulting users began mixing together all non-air mail, non-first class mail in the same containers and shipping it by freight – the slowest means of delivery. Daily newspapers were excepted, but magazines, including, weeklies, were commingled. The result, according to *Advertising Age*, is that publications sat at dispatch points for 48 hours or longer waiting to be loaded on trains. At their destination they were processed with parcels, junk mail, etc. *Ad Age*, and every other weekly publication, got a steadily increasing volume of subscriber complaints about late issues. The Post Office has finally stopped the practice.

Most of these changes in Post Office procedure under this Administration should be unfamiliar to readers, for they were not announced and public comment was not invited. The Post Office simply made the changes. The Post Office committees in Congress have shown no interest in holding hearings to bring new practices to public attention.

The prospects of improved service are remote. Mr. Nixon's budget anticipated an increase in mail of 2.5 percent but allowed for only .6 percent increase in postal manpower. The President has put the onus of postal reform on Congress, whose postal committee apparatus is corrupted by cronyism and is therefore disinclined to enact practical reform.

In appointing Winton Blount, Mr. Nixon said that this successful construction businessman from Alabama had accepted on condition that he be allowed to do something about poor mail service. The Postmaster General soon established a new nonpolitical method of appointing postmasters, and he came quickly to favor the essential recommendations of President Johnson's Postal Commission. By late May last year Nixon had sent Congress a message on postal reform, and somewhat later a bill arrived. Since then the Senate has taken no action whatever (although both houses have passed postal pay increases now awaiting action by a conference committee). The Senate has left the matter to the House Post Office Committee under the leadership of Thaddeus J. Dulski, who had his own bill and his own allegiances (to the postal unions). It took until the end of 1969 for the committee to decide which reform scheme – Nixon's or

COMING: Ralph E. Lapp on Laird's defense posture statement and its meaning for the SALT talks

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dulski's – to consider in writing legislation. By a 13-13 vote on the Administration proposal Dulski's bill prevailed. As of last week the committee was still involved in marking up a bill and no one could predict with certainty whether Dulski's bill as modified in committee or some new version of the Administration bill would prevail after amendments have been offered to the committee.

Dulski would spruce up the existing Post Office in ways agreeable to the unions but opposed by former Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien, an early proponent of a postal corporation. In a newspaper ad several days ago, O'Brien's Citizens Committee for Postal Reform denounced the Dulski proposal as perpetuating "the same inefficient postal system along with its burdensome billion-dollar deficits paid for by the taxpayer." The Nixon bill, or a version of it acceptable to Mr. O'Brien, the new Democratic National Committee chairman, would replace the Post Office with a government corporation having independent management free to raise money (by offering bonds) for operating costs and modernization, expert rate commissioners to set rates, subject only to congressional veto, collective bargaining between labor and management for wages and working conditions.

A compromise has reportedly been worked out which, it is said, will bring the Administration, the postal employees, and a majority of the committee members together. James H. Rademacher, the president of the 190,000 member National Association of Letter Carriers, the oldest and largest postal union, claims the compromise has the "full support" of the White House, the votes of at least 15 of the 26 Post Office committee members, and the blessing of labor. Under it the Post Office would become a Postal Authority governed by 13 directors, seven appointed by the President and including four members of Congress. The President's directors would select a Director General and a Deputy to replace the Postmaster General. The authority would be supported in its administration by a 13-member advisory board also with a director and deputy. Four members of this group would be postal union people, four would represent large mail users, and three the public.

The authority would be empowered to issue $10-billion in federally guaranteed bonds for modernization, construction and mechanization of the 33,000 post offices. Postage rates would be fixed by three rate commissioners appointed by the President. Their decisions would be final, subject only to a veto (two-thirds vote) by either the House or the Senate. Congress would continue to appropriate limited funds for so-called public service mail (including mail for the blind, and for rural delivery).

The bill envisions that the current deficit would be reduced to zero. To accomplish this postage rates would be increased somewhat over a seven-year period. The labor-management relations section would provide for collective bargaining and binding arbitration. An arbitrator rather than Congress would determine pay scales. Employees would remain within Civil Service and retain current benefits and pensions. Wages this year would be increased an average of 5.5 percent, retroactive to January 1970.

No one knows whether this supposed compromise or any of the other proposed reforms will survive. A deficiency in most of them is that they contemplate that efficiencies and tolerable rate increases will together make the postal service break even. It remains to be seen whether this really is possible or even desirable. The Post Office *is* a public service, and in years when a public subsidy has been required it has been necessary for more purposes than to sustain the existence of journalism and junk mail. A lot of other services that the public considers worthwhile – rural free delivery, mail for the blind, the armed forces, service to distant US possessions have also been underwritten. A letter to Guam costs as much as a letter across the street, not because the transportation costs are comparable and not because any intelligent business would run itself that way, but because the public interest is defined to favor such services, and because the public at large has been willing to subsidize some users whose use of the mail benefits everyone but who cannot themselves sustain the costs. Under the corporation scheme users would supposedly pay the true costs of what they mail. But the suspicion lingers that no class of mail users will tolerate the increases that may be necessary in a self-supporting system.

Whatever is passed should at the very least give customers some appeal in matters of rates and service. With that assured, everyone should fare better under a postal corporation, by any name, than under the present mismanagement. I am impressed with the argument of Stanley Cohen. "The Post Office," he says, "is essentially a large public utility operating under a system in which there is a board of directors – the Congress – which has a vested interest in keeping the price down, in raising wages, in seeing that transportation is purchased on a basis which has no relationship to the needs of the Post Office but rather to the needs of certain influential transportation carriers. Its capital requirements are not determined by what it needs to handle its load but by what the government can spare after it's through paying for its wars and other things. The Post Office is unmanageable under this system. You have to have independent management capable of raising money in terms of the capital requirements of the service, negotiating wages and working conditions with employees, fixing prices related to the value of the service rather than the influence of the people who patronize it."

MR. SANFORD'S *article "Nothing Works Anymore" appeared in the February 14 issue.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Evasive Ambiguity

Mr. Nixon's Foreign Policy

by Hans J. Morgenthau

When I approached the 119 single-spaced pages, containing 40,000 words, *United States Foreign Policy For the 1970s*, the President's report to Congress on the state of the world, I expected the kind of *tour d'horizon*, taking up one country after the other in geographic sequence, with which the foreign ministers of Great Britain and France annually bore their parliaments. Long stretches of this document are boring all right, but in a different way. It resembles nothing so much as those lesser papal encyclicals which pronounce a series of unexceptionable abstract principles, leaving practical judgment and action where they found them. There is, however, one difference: the Pope quotes Scripture and the pronouncements of his predecessors in support of these principles; Mr. Nixon quotes himself 31 times directly, if my count is correct, and innumerable times by reference to a previous statement. The tone is one of magisterial authority and imperial decisiveness. It conjures up the image of the great leader fully informed, unfailing in judgment, acting and ready to act again. It begins with "When I took office . . ." and the first person singular appears at frequent intervals ("I have often reflected on the meaning of 'peace' . . ."); it ends with a repetition in full of the lengthy toast Mr. Nixon offered to the acting president of India on July 31, 1969. It is far from modest in defining its task: "This first annual report on US foreign policy is more than a record of one year. It is this Administration's statement of a new approach to foreign policy, to match a new era of international relations."

This byzantinism, individual and collective, the product of the invisible hand of the public relations expert, must put the reader off. So does the excessive vagueness and blandness of the document. In a certain measure, these faults are inevitable in a document of this sort; for in foreign policy, as in other spheres of human action, there is a gap between general principles and concrete issues which cannot be filled by abstract reasoning but only by concrete action informed by those principles. More particularly, a philosophy that retreats from the grandiose and global into a more restrained and cautious stance is hard put to express itself in slogans equal in flamboyance, say, to "rollback," "liberation," "massive retaliation," the worldwide "Great Society." Even so there is more vagueness here than appears to be inevitable.

Take the "concept of partnership" that "guides our relations with all friendly nations" and which is more specifically applied to our relations with the nations of Asia and Europe. This concept, which was first used by John F. Kennedy in this context, does not elucidate the issues of our relations with our allies, it rather evades them by glossing them over with an attractive phrase. If two partners see eye to eye on the issues concerning them there is no problem. If they don't, invocation of their partnership will not help them. Partnership is predicated upon the identity of interests and policies; without such identity there can be no partnership. If the interests and policies of France and the United States were identical, we would be partners in fact. In the measure that such identity is lacking, there is no partnership, and it cannot be restored by invoking its name. It can only be restored through a political effort seeking to harmonize divergent interests and policies.

If the concept of partnership evades the political issues, the "Nixon Doctrine" buries them both in the obvious and in evasive ambiguity. "This is the message," the document announces grandly "of the doctrine I announced at Guam – the 'Nixon Doctrine.' Its central thesis is that the United States will participate in the defense and revelopment of allies and friends, but that America cannot – and will not –conceive *all* the plans, design *all* the programs, execute *all* the decisions and undertake *all* the defense of the free nations of the world. We will help where it makes a real difference and is considered in our interest."

The first sentence states what has been the policy of the United States all along. The United States has never conceived "*all* the plans," designed "*all* the programs," executed "*all* the decisions," and undertaken "*all* the defense of the free nations of the world." Messrs. Diem and Thieu, to give only one example, have had their share, for better or for worse, in planning, designing, executing, and defending. That we should do everything has never been the issue. The real issue is, under what conditions shall we in-

---

Mr. Morgenthau, *author of* New Foreign Policy for the United States, *is professor of political science at the University of Chicago and the City University of New York.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tervene with military force? Mr. Nixon announces, "where it makes a real difference and is considered in our interest." That statement covers Vietnam and Laos. And it would cover Cuba and Brazil as well as any other country one can think of. Nobody, not even Mr. Dulles, or Mr. Nixon in 1954, has ever suggested that we ought to intervene where intervention would make "no real difference" and would not be considered "in our interest." The crucial question raised by the experience of Vietnam, where do our real interests lie when it comes to military intervention? is here not so much answered as assumed to be answered by restating it in assertive form.

This evasive ambiguity carries over into the discussion of our commitments. It has been argued that the United States is overcommitted and must pare down its commitments to the level of its power and interests. But is this Mr. Nixon's view? On the one hand, Mr. Nixon declares that we must "maintain our commitments," and he comes out against "giving up our friends or letting down our allies." On the other hand, he finds it "misleading, moreover, to pose the fundamental question so largely in terms of commitments. Our objective, in the first instance, is to support our *interests* over the long run with a sound foreign policy. The more that policy is based on a realistic assessment of our and others' interests, the more effective our role in the world can be. We are not involved in the world because we have commitments; we have commitments because we are involved. Our interests must shape our commitments, rather than the other way around."

"I'd say he's more half in than half out."

The syllogism is patently specious. "Involved" is here obviously a synonym for "having interests." Nobody will deny that we ought to support our "involvements," that is, our "interests" with commitments appropriate to them. But what about "commitments" entered into without being appropriately grounded in our "interests" and which then create "involvements" of their own? This is the issue to which Vietnam has given rise, but the document does not address itself to it.

While we must keep our present commitments, "we we will view new commitments in the light of a careful assessment of our own national interests and those of other countries, of the specific threats to those interests and of our capacity to counter those threats at an acceptable risk and cost."

This is sound thinking indeed, but it does not answer the question why it should not apply to present commitments as well.

What is first of all remarkable in a positive sense about this document is its tone and general philosophy. The world has indeed changed since John Foster Dulles was Secretary of State and Richard M. Nixon Vice-President, and so has America's outlook upon the world. The ideological polemic, which still set the tone of official pronouncements on foreign policy in the '60s, has virtually disappeared: "Then, the slogans formed in the past century were the ideological accessories of the intellectual debate. Today, the 'isms' have lost their vitality – indeed the restlessness of youth on both sides of the dividing line testifies to the need for a new idealism and deeper purposes."

What there is polemical in this document is subdued and presented almost by indirection. Thus after recognizing the polycentric character of communism, manifesting itself not only in diversity but also hostility within the communist camp, it scores, by way of illustration, a telling polemic point: "The only times the Soviet Union has used the Red Army since World War II have been against its own allies – in East Germany in 1953, in Hungary in 1956, and in Czechoslovakia in 1968."

As concerns the Middle East, it mitigates its warning to the Soviet Union by couching what is an established fact in conditional terms: "But the United States would view any effort by the Soviet Union to seek predominance in the Middle East as a matter of grave concern."

When it deals with the concrete issues of American foreign policy, the document is curiously uneven. Sometimes, it is brilliant, penetrating, and informative. The National Security Council system, the Middle East, and arms control deserve to be singled out. The discussion of the National Security Council system pre-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sents an impressive picture of a division of labor in order to achieve competent determination of facts and systematic planning on the inter-agency level. It is the intended result to make the President aware of a full range of options and thus to enable him to render a responsible decision. That method of Presidential decision-making deviates drastically from that of Mr. Nixon's three immediate predecessors, and there is in the document more than a trace of implied criticism of Mr. Eisenhower's committee system: "I do not believe that Presidential leadership consists merely in ratifying a consensus reached among departments and agencies. The President bears the constitutional responsibility of making the judgments and decisions that form our policy. . . . I refuse to be confronted with a bureaucratic consensus that leaves me no options but acceptance or rejection and that gives me no way of knowing what alternatives exist."

The discussion of the Middle East provides an excellent analysis of the respective positions of the parties, pointing to their irreconcilable differences as well as to the choices open to the involved outside powers. What the document has to say about arms control avoids the confusions between arms control and disarmament and between conventional and nuclear arms control and disarmament that have marred Mr. Nixon's statements on the subject in the past. It provides, to the best of my knowledge for the first time, an intelligible account of the purpose of the preliminary SALT talks that took place in Helsinki in November and December of last year. Instead of agreeing within the government upon a position to be presented to the other side for the purpose of negotiations, the Administration "laid out preliminary models of possible strategic-arms-limitation agreements. We compared these both with each other and with the situation most likely to prevail in the absence of an agreement. . . . And this process had several advantages. We were not tied to a single position; instead we had building blocks for several different positions depending on our decisions and what might prove negotiable. Opening talks with the Soviets could concentrate on the principles and objectives underlying any type of strategic-arms agreement."

On the other hand, the discussion of our Latin American policy is trivial: "We were determined to reflect the forces of change in our approach and in our actions." But what does that mean when the chips are down, that is, when you have to choose between an unviable status quo and revolution? Are we to continue to come down on the side of the status quo or are we going to join the progressive wing of the Catholic Church in supporting radical reform and even revolution, or at least are we going to keep our hands off in the contest between radical change and the status quo? Upon the answers we give to these questions our future Latin American policy will depend. But the document does not even pose the questions.

To give just one other example of insufficiency: the document repeats all the arguments Mr. Nixon has presented before in support of his policy of Vietnamization, which is tantamount to the indefinite continuation of the war with reduced American casualties. But neither here nor elsewhere has Mr. Nixon ever raised the crucial question as to what he is going to do if and when Vietnamization should fail. He will then be faced with two choices, both painful and politically risky: either to disengage completely and openly admit defeat or reescalate the war to the point where the complete destruction of the South Vietnamese countryside will dispose once and for all of the issue of who shall govern it. If it is true that the President has thus far refused to face the possibility that he might have to make such a choice, it is not surprising that the document keeps silent on the possibility of avoiding this dilemma by seeing to it that a truly civilian government be established in Saigon, which would have a vital interest not in continuing the war but in negotiating a peaceful settlement with the Vietcong.

It is more surprising that the document has nothing to say about Laos; about the potential, inherent in the new Eastern European policy of West Germany, for a radical change in the military and political alignments in Europe; and about MIRVs, the multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles whose further development might well jeopardize the SALT talks.

Yet whatever the merits and defects of this document are, they can only have a tenuous relation to the foreign policy actually pursued by the Nixon Administration. Such a document performs two major functions: it tells the American people what it is supposed to like hearing, and it presents the Administration's assumed modes of thought and action in a most favorable light. In these respects, it is very much like the prospectus or annual report of a corporation.

To what extent the document actually reflects the future conduct of American foreign policy it is impossible to say. First of all, many of the pronouncements, as pointed out above, are so vague as to lend themselves to the support of virtually any foreign policy upon which the Administration would like to embark. Furthermore, the evidence provided by the first year of the Nixon Administration points to clever political manipulation rather than changes in the substance of foreign policy. The Administration's innovation's have dealt with the politics of foreign policy – and have done so quite successfully – rather than with foreign policy itself. The defusing of the Vietnam war as a domestic political issue, in step with its indefinite continuation, is a case in point. There is only one point at which the document and the assumed new foreign policy of the Nixon Administration coincide: the lack of ideological fervor and the avoidance of flamboyant rhetoric in general. What this change in tone portends for the future, only the future can tell.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Further Comment and Mr. Bickel's Reply

The Debate over School Desegregation

I am dismayed at those, well meaning and otherwise, who continue to discuss, analyze, and legislate school policies from every "feasible" vantage point except that of black children who have all along been, and remain, the prime victims of the lawlessness of the majority society and whose constitutional and human rights are always the first to be negotiated away. This is why Professor Bickel's unfortunate article, "Desegregation – Where Do We Go From Here?" requires the strongest response.

What is it going to take to make him, those Stennis Amendment supporters, and all those whites who applaud the Nixon Administration's prudent understanding of school desegregation problems, aware of the consequences of what they are doing in the name of evenhanded national enforcement and practicality? Let us be clear: Those who say that real desegregation is not attainable, or is too costly, and counsel a weakening of the nation's efforts, are conceding that the constitutional rights of blacks are those that the white majority is willing to permit and nothing more. They are in effect saying that lawyers and their black clients and others who have sought legal redress within the system have been whistling up a blind alley, and duped all of these years.

I was a fourteen-year-old black school child in a small South Carolina town when *Brown* was decided. For months and months after the school litigation began, my father waited for the Supreme Court's pronouncement that might give me the chance to escape the inferior and segregated school I was trapped in. He felt (naively) like thousands of other black parents, and repeatedly said, that getting the best possible education was the only hope of blacks getting ahead in this country. And in my South Carolina town, in that state, and in the South, that invariably meant going to white schools – not because they were white, but because they were better – they had the well-stocked libraries, the better physical facilities, the laboratory equipment, the broader curriculum. That remains, with rare exceptions, true today.

My father died May 7, 1954. The Court pronounced one week later that I was entitled to equal educational opportunity. But nothing happened. My mother was not as courageous as many black parents later on, and I graduated two years later from the new black school, "equalized" with bricks, but not books and teaching quality.

Ten years after *Brown*, still with great hope but a lot more realism, I moved to Mississippi, "armed" with a law degree from Professor Bickel's great institution and seeking, among other things, to enforce school desegregation through the courts and enable as many black children as possible to attain some measure of better education. After years of case by case effort, white resistance and violence, black suffering and persistence, on-again and off-again federal enforcement, and more black suffering, but some grudging progress, it became clear that the only hope for real desegregation lay in strong and consistent federal enforcement policies (which we have never really had), with deadlines that stuck and with federal resources spent wisely to upgrade black schools so that whites could not protest being sent to substandard black schools. After all the years of effort by so many thousands of black parents and school children, and so much Southern white recalcitrance, and so little federal strength, we come to 1970 when the Supreme Court finally says desegregation must be achieved forthwith – only to be met by the Bickels and Ribicoffs playing into the South's calculated strategy all along of holding out long enough and screaming loud enough so that the country would tire and come around to their side. Well, what about the Southern blacks who have borne the brunt of the struggle and faced frustration after frustration and who are amazingly, though with increasing cynicism, still willing to fight for desegregation? Don't they get some say in all of this?

Those who argue that desegregation should not be pursued because it has no educational benefit for black students ignore the evidence. While the record of academic achievement is not always clear, there exists much research which shows that desegregation and compensatory education yield better academic results than compensatory education in a racially isolated setting. (An excellent summary of this research is contained in Meyer Weinberg's "Desegregation Research: An Appraisal," published by Phi Delta Kappa. See also David K. Cohen's "Policy for the Public Schools: Compensation and Integration," Harvard Education Review [Winter, 1968].) The Coleman Report and many other studies show that the racial and social class composition of student bodies is closely related to student achievement. Moreover, it is likely that the cost of building separate black quality education is going to be greater in sheer dollar terms in the long run than that required to bring about quality desegregated education. The South has never been able to build one decent educational system – how can it support two? With dwindling inner-city resources, the Northern urban prospect is equally dim.

At a time when racial polarization is increasing, it is foolhardy to perpetuate the segregated and isolated institutions which produced the hostility, distrust, and tragic attitudes which now divide our nation. Whites and blacks who attend racially isolated schools are more likely to fear and distrust each other and to perpetuate segregationist patterns and resist change. The crucial role of public schools in providing values and forming attitudes cannot be overestimated, and the need in the larger educational sense, for whites and blacks to grow and learn together must be fought for if the country is to have a future. The thinking of some that schools are mere social extensions of family and peer groups is to treat them more like fraternities than public institutions, and to downgrade their crucial societal role.

Those who say that busing is un-American, and that money could be better spent on teaching kids to read, are really complaining about who is being bused in a relatively small number of cases. Moreover, busing has a long and established history and even now, as its horrors are debated, 40 percent of the nation's public school children ride buses to and from school.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The controversy over busing obscures all the other ways to desegregate schools, particularly in small to medium-sized cities, North and South. Busing is not *the* way, but one of many to bring about desegregation. And it is extremely simplistic to juxtapose the cost of busing with the cost of compensatory education. National per pupil cost for busing is $42 a year. Raising per pupil expenditures for instruction significantly enough to have impact increases expenditures by $600 to $1000 per pupil per year. Teaching children to read must consider the cost of reducing class size by half, training and hiring more teachers, and providing extra classroom space for smaller classes.

Those who are softening on integration are now grasping at community control as an alternative. I am not opposed to community control, and feel strongly that school systems have to be made accountable to those they serve. But it is an extremely complicated issue, and not an either/or issue vis-a-vis desegregation. Community control is an old story for Southern blacks. School systems have always been controlled by the white community. Unable to exercise a voice in school policy in a racially segregated system, blacks have used the desegregation strategy to gain a voice in school affairs, and 91 blacks now sit on Southern school boards. There is now more black interest and participation in school affairs than at any past time. After all, it has been black children and parents who have persisted in desegregation efforts.

Many seem to think that community control is a goal less difficult to reach than full integration. New York's experience refutes this. In urban areas where strong white-dominated teachers' unions exist and desire major institutional say, community control is going to evoke as much resistance as intergration. More difficult yet is the problem of the impact of balkanization of school systems on the ability of blacks to influence financial decisions critical to upgrading their schools. Just as the basic hope for blacks in the South to get a fair share of resources is through desegregation, it can be convincingly argued that in the North only by binding the destiny of other groups to blacks in educational matters can a strong enough force for adequate resources be mounted. After years of being separate but unequal, North and South, why should blacks trust promises of being separate and equal in the future? I, for one, do not see this Congress, and this Administration, and state legislatures throughout the country committing the massive resources to upgrade black education that are required.

Nor do I think that real community control (not the neighborhood school version which simply means segregation as is) need be exclusive of desegregation. Community control *can* mean building accountable, black, quality schools even as efforts to create an open society, both residentially and educationally, proceed. But in the South, this way station is unnecessary. Try as Senator Stennis will to hide the facts, there is no Harlem, no Southside Chicago, no Bedford-Stuyvesant in the South. The time frames, as well as the histories, are different. In the South as well as in all but the largest cities of the North, desegregation within the framework of community control is possible. The point is to use all means and make every effort to achieve effective education *and* desegregation, including busing. But if we are going to avoid oversimplification, we should admit that this may lead to different *shortrun* answers in different parts of the country.

Ocean Hill-Brownsville is not a distorted mirror image of desegregation, as Professor Bickel alleges. It was not a case of blacks simply rejecting integration. While some white teachers were escorted through angry black crowds and seen as enemies of better education, other whites who were sympathetic to the community's educational aspirations continued to teach in Ocean Hill-Brownsville schools throughout the 1968 New York City teacher strike. Nor, indeed, was the student body of this school system all black – there was a large Puerto Rican minority. That Ocean Hill-Brownsville occurred does not prove that desegregation is a useless strategy, and it is most emphatically not a corollary to black kids being escorted through angry white mobs a decade earlier. As one New York City Board of Education member stated:

> "Ironically the demand for decentralization or, more properly, community control of the schools began with the failure of the central board to effectively implement integration. Board of Education administrators often said that they could not and would not 'tell the principals how to run their schools.' Integration failed at least partly because it was resisted by many principals, and because the system was already administratively decentralized to the point where recalcitrant principals were not forced to comply with Board policy on integration.
>
> Integration was not abandoned by black parents but by the Board of Education. The demand for community control was a direct response by ghetto residents to the lack of access to decision-making processes that vitally affected the lives of their children."

Professor Bickel's basic allegation that substantial desegregation causes "tipping" and leads to resegregation of schools, thus frustrating the ultimate objective, is too easy an analysis. While it is often true that once a school reaches 50 percent black, it tends to become all black very rapidly, this is neither inevitable nor accidental nor caused solely by desegregation. School officials often permit the quality of education to decline as a school becomes substantially black, thereby causing many whites to leave. Other school practices causing resegregation include permitting extensive overcrowding, failing to provide the special educational programs to deal with problems arising in racially desegregated schools, and permitting the decline of a quality teaching staff. These practices, combined with patterns of black migration to the cities and the growth of the black popula-

"Believe me, mister, there's no neglect like benign neglect."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

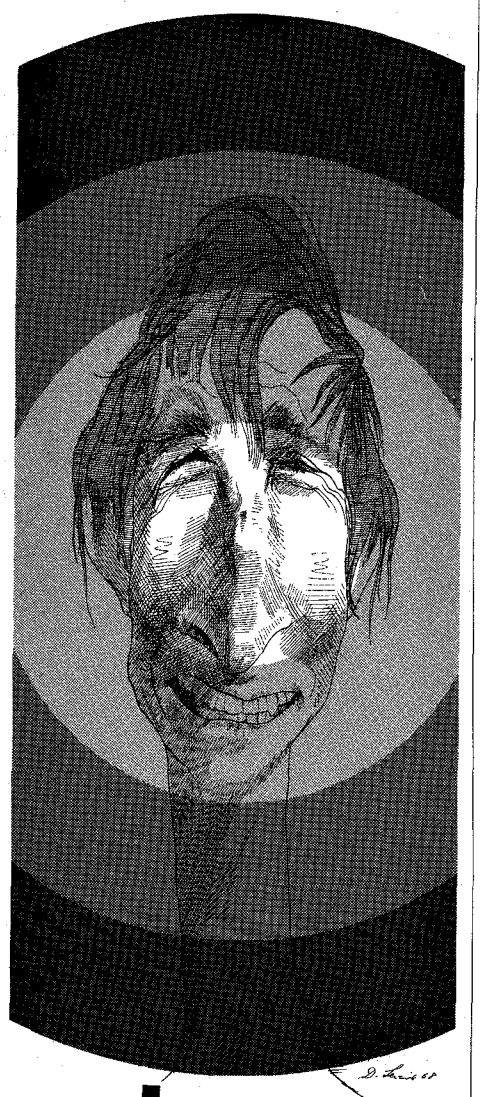
Novel Perspective

THE ELEMENTS OF JOHN UPDIKE

by Alice and Kenneth Hamilton

Here's a frankly enthusiastic exposition of the major themes to be found in Updike's fiction. The authors discern a coherent and developing pattern of thought, tracing Updike's preoccupation with the individual's understanding of himself and society through memory, ritual, and continuity of purpose in work. An evaluation of the controversial *Couples*, in which the authors see a consistent thematic extension of Updike's earlier novels, completes this first full-length study on the man many believe to be "the most gifted writer of his generation." Cloth, 304 pages, Index. Select Bibliography. $6.95

"a theological road map for the countless Updike fans"
–Martin E. Marty



0-5
At your bookseller's

WM. B. EERDMANS PUBLISHING CO.
Grand Rapids, Michigan

tion in formerly white neighborhoods, have all contributed to resegregation.

To claim as Professor Bickel does that good faith implementation of *Brown* occurred in certain border state cities, and that desegregation still did not work, taking Baltimore as an example, is patently incorrect. Baltimore is a prime example of how a border state city school system maintained segregation after 1954. In that city, an open enrollment policy, an earlier version of the now discredited freedom of choice, existed except where schools became overcrowded. But different standards of overcrowding were used for white and black schools. White schools were districted when Negroes began moving into the surrounding neighborhood, while black schools were not districted and permitted to become extremely overcrowded. When districting was done by school officials, it often maintained segregated schools in racially mixed neighborhoods. It was a masterful plan which maintained basic segregation while permitting token numbers of blacks into formerly white schools.

If school boards put in the effort to accomplish desegregation that they have expended to maintain segregation, resegregation would not necessarily occur, and real desegregation might even be accomplished. And if political leaders and scholars counselled whites to comply rather than sympathized all the time with their "terrible plight," the trend could be reversed.

Finally, to say that we should not vigorously pursue Southern school desegregation because we cannot achieve Northern desegregation is ridiculous. That is like saying because we cannot convict every criminal we should prosecute no criminals. Legal rights have been established in the South. Millions of black children's educational futures depend on them. To abandon them is morally indefensible and tragically defeatist. Let Professor Bickel and Senator Ribicoff go South and tell Southern black school children and parents that "we won't help you because we are not helping your brothers up North." While the Bickels and Ribicoffs may technically claim they do not advocate abandoning Southern desegregation efforts, that is the practical impact of what they have said and done. The Bickel piece and the Stennis Amendment are simply another in a long line of excuses to cloud the real issues and to renege on outstanding commitments already made. They have done a disservice to black and white school children by diluting the efforts on behalf of Southern black children to achieve equal educational opportunity and setting a national tone of retreat. Who can believe that Senator Stennis really cares about what happens to black children in the North? Who has raised cries to double the resources of the Justice Department and HEW compliance staffs to finance a major national push against discrimination? Where is the political pressure for quadrupling the funding of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to help poor and minority children gain a fair deal?

A great disservice has been done that will not quickly pass. For again we blacks are shown how flimsy our position is. I can only beg and hope that the Senator Mondales of this world will multiply and that the now silent leaders will come forward to challenge the best in us – not the worst. We do not defuse the George Wallaces by selling our principles and becoming more like them – we defuse them by clear and resounding repudiation with a national tone and policy that makes it clear that the Constitution is not a political football. For surely whites cannot now expect, once again, blacks and Mexican-Americans and Indians and Puerto Ricans to respect a Constitution they render so cheap.

Marian Wright Edelman

MRS. EDELMAN *is director of the Washington Research Project of the Southern Center for Public Policy.*

A great deal of the critical response to my article on schools has substance as well as fervor, but is not properly addressed to me. Many of my critics see only two positions – theirs, and another that I am supposed to share with Senator Stennis. They are mistaken. They come to their error out of the experience of a decade and a half of fighting Southern segregationists, and out of the memory of how an earlier Reconstruction was defeated and nullified in 1877 by the politically motivated capitulation of the North. The experience is mine also, and I deeply respect those, lawyers and others, who fought and are still fighting as foot soldiers in the trenches, rather than, like myself, as support troops. I recognize, moreover, the danger of another Compromise of 1877. But those who

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

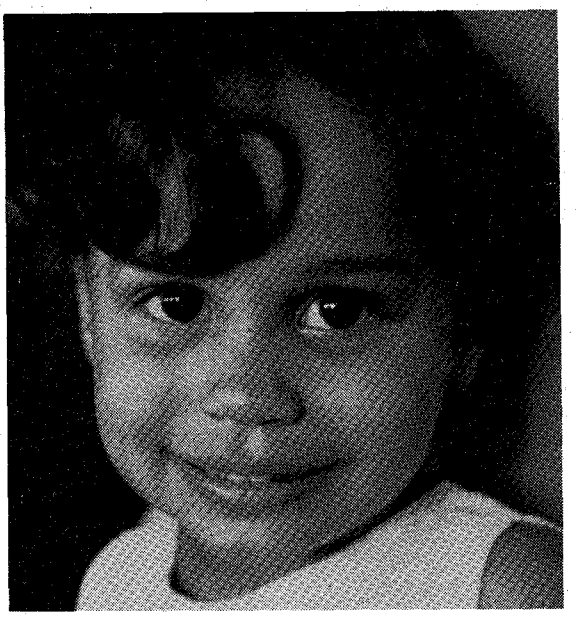
read me more calmly will know that I proposed no capitulation, and advocated no equivalent of the notorious Compromise. I had and have distinctly in mind the need to avert both.

Desegregation of Southern schools reached a turning point, I said, about two years ago, when courts and HEW made the transition from the effort to disestablish dual school systems to the active promotion of integration. The Supreme Court has not yet told us that total integration of pupils of both races, in disregard of neighborhood lines and other considerations, is the law of the Constitution. The law is in flux. The question is what it ought to become. The question that I discussed, whatever Senator Stennis may have in mind, is not whether we ought to renege on the desegregation that has been accomplished, or let up in the effort to accomplish it in parts of the South where it is not yet a reality, but where do we go from there?

I agree with Mr. Panetta, with Professor Tyack, with the less temperate Professor Orfield, and with others, whose comments have yet to be published, that desegregation has worked in the South and has produced many stable situations. I would do nothing to disturb this achievement, and I would, as I said, carry the task of desegregation to completion in the South. I agree also that some hopeful attempts at integration – racial dispersal – have been made in special places elsewhere in the country, and I would not disturb these either. But I question any generalization drawn from these few hopeful attempts.

Obviously I make a distinction, as many of the replies to my article fail to do, between segregation and racial imbalance, and a corresponding one between desegregation and integration or racial dispersal. Segregation is the separation of children of different races in the public schools by law or intentional administrative action. Desegregation is the disestablishment of segregation. Racial imbalance is just what it sounds like, and its causes are found in conditions that school law and school administrators have not created and cannot help. Integration, aimed at curing racial imbalance, is the mixing of children of different races in the public schools by law or intentional administrative action. In order to be satisfied that segregation has been honestly disestablished in a

She Needs Your Love...



Little Rosetta doesn't know that her future hangs in the balance . . . her father has just been killed in an accident, her mother cannot earn enough to feed a large family.

Before long her big smile will be lost as she searches for food, shivers without warm clothing, unable to even write her own name, trapped for life in a crowded slum in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

We must enroll her in our Family Helper Project immediately, so she can stay with her mother, yet receive the assistance and education that will make her childhood happy—and her future hopeful.

How can you sponsor a child like Rosetta in countries around the world? Here are some answers to your questions:

Q. What does it cost to sponsor a child? A. Only $12 per month. (Your gifts are tax deductible.)

Q. May I choose the child I wish to help? A. You may indicate your preference of boy or girl, age, and country. Many sponsors allow us to select a child from our emergency list.

Q. Will I receive a photograph of my child? A. Yes, and with the photograph will come a case history plus a description of the home or project where your child receives help.

Q. How long does it take before I learn about the child assigned to me? A. You will receive your Personal Sponsor Folder in about two weeks, giving you complete information about the child you will be helping.

Q. May I write to my child? A. Yes. In fact, your child will write to you a few weeks after you become a sponsor. Your letters are translated by one of our workers overseas. You receive your child's original letter, plus an English translation, direct from the home or project overseas.

Q. How long has CCF been helping children? A. Since 1938.

Q. What help does the child receive from my support? A. In countries of great poverty, such as India, your gifts provide total support for a child. In other countries your sponsorship gives the children benefits that otherwise they would not receive, such as diet supplements, medical care, adequate clothing, school supplies.

Q. Are all the children in orphanages? A. No, some live with widowed mothers, and through CCF Family Helper Projects they are enabled to stay at home, rather than enter an orphanage. CCF has homes for the blind, abandoned babies homes, day care nurseries, health homes, vocational training centers, and many other types of projects.

Q. Who owns and operates CCF? A. Christian Children's Fund is an independent, non-profit organization, regulated by a national Board of Directors. CCF cooperates with both church and government agencies, but is completely independent.

Q. Who supervises the work overseas? A. Regional offices are staffed with both Americans and nationals. Caseworkers, orphanage superintendents, housemothers, and other personnel must meet high professional standards—plus have a deep love for children.

Q. How do you keep track of all the children and sponsors? A. Through our IBM data processing equipment, we maintain complete information on every child receiving assistance and the sponsor who provides the gifts.

Sponsors urgently needed this month for children in: India, Brazil, Taiwan (Formosa), Hong Kong, Philippines and Thailand. (Or let us select a child for you from our emergency list.)

Write today: Verbon E. Kemp

CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND, Inc. Box 511 Richmond, Va. 23204

I wish to sponsor ☐ boy ☐ girl in (Country)_____
☐ Choose a child who needs me most. I will pay $12 a month. I enclose first payment of $_____. Send me child's name, story, address and picture. I cannot sponsor a child but want to give $_____.
☐ Please send me more information.

Name_____
Address_____
City_____
State_____ Zip_____

Registered (VFA-080) with the U.S. Government's Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid. Gifts are tax deductible. Canadians: Write 1407 Yonge, Toronto 7. NR 6630

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The myth of peaceful progress

If you think insurrection and violence are new to this country, read this eye-opening analysis of group political violence over the past 200 years, from the pre-Revolutionary Sons of Liberty to today's ghetto uprisings and student riots.

Rebels in Eden
Mass Political Violence in the United States
by Richard E. Rubenstein
$5.95 at bookstores.
Little, Brown

■ WE CAN HELP YOU WITH A SPANISH PROVERB

A Spanish proverb states, *"For each man a good woman, a spirited horse, a fine knife."* While the first two are outside our competence, we are certain we can help with the third. ■ Our G.P.K. (Gentleman's Pocket Knife) is only ⅛" thin, but contains in its leatherette-sheathed body: knife, manicurer, screwdriver/bottle opener and scissors. All forged of the finest steel. ■ Once you own the G.P.K. we know you won't part with it and will carry it in tackle box, tweed suit or tux! Order yours now but, don't forget, the woman and the horse are up to you!

☐ Send me my G.P.K. I encl. $5.95 ($4.95 plus $1 post. & ins.) Return within 1 year if not delighted. (Calif. resid. add 5% tax.) TNR0321

NAME_____
ADDRESS_____
_____ ZIP_____

haverhill's 584 Washington St., San Francisco, 94111

place where it has in the past been imposed by law, it may be necessary to require some visible mixing of the races in the school. But it remains true that to require integration is quite something else.

I have argued that integration is, under present circumstances, impossible of achievement on a national scale; that attempts to impose it, in the South as elsewhere, often produce the perverse result of resegregation; that a rising segment of Negro leadership no more wants it imposed than do many whites; that it often amounts to the mixing of the black lower class with the white lower class, which is educationally useless, so far as we know, even though the mixing of the lower and middle classes might have some uses; and that, therefore, integration ought not to have the highest priority in the allocation of our human, political and material resources. That is what I have tried to say – about integration, not desegregation – and I do not believe I have been successfully contradicted. I may add that I am not alone among students of the problem in saying what I do, and that I have myself been saying it for nearly a decade.

I realize that the debate about where to go from here may somehow – any straw will do – enspirit certain unreconstructed Southerners who would like to return to where we started from 15 years ago, and may consequently dispirit Southern moderates, whose fidelity to law in arduous conditions over the same period has been a tremendous national asset. I think, therefore, that the law of desegregation should be reaffirmed by Congress. I believe also that the continuing process of desegregation would benefit from an attempt to stabilize the law and clarify it, so that those who would still resist desegregation cannot make allies by claiming that what will ultimately be imposed is necessarily racial dispersal. To these ends, I have cooperated in drafting a bill with Representative Richardson Preyer of North Carolina, a former federal judge, and one of those Southerners whose career has been marked by fidelity to law, and by personal commitment to the moral precepts that the law embodies.

As Professor Charles Hamilton wrote in these pages, government ought to support – not merely permit – the education of children in desegregated situations. And it ought to exert itself to improve the quality of education. The bill I speak of would create a national right in any public school pupil to transfer from a school in which his race is in a majority to one in which his race is in a minority. Transportation, if needed, would be provided at public expense. Secondly, the bill would commit the federal government to the equalization of educational opportunities and facilities. Thirdly, without disturbing the authority of federal courts and of HEW to measure the good faith of a desegregation performance, the bill would define the end result, which in a term used by the Supreme Court but left by it undefined, is called a unitary school system.

In general, a unitary school system would be achieved either by a genuine neighborhood zoning of school attendance areas, or by mixing the races in the schools in a ratio that, within a substantial permissible range, bears a relation to the proportion of one race to the other in the total school population in a district. Voluntary efforts by school boards to achieve better racial balance would, of course, be permitted, as would efforts to forestall resegregation of the schools, and the concomitant hardening of the lines of residential segregation. North or South, once a school system has reached – or has for a half century been in – a unitary state, federal courts and HEW would retain jurisdiction to pursue and cure any measure, however covert, to achieve in whatever degree any forced separation of children in the schools solely on the basis of race.

Segregationists, says Professor Hamilton, "must be fought at every turn. But in our determination to defeat them, let us not devise plans that are dysfunctional in other serious ways. The principle is a free and open society, and we can pursue several realistic routes to its achievement." That is what I believe.

Alexander M. Bickel

This discussion will conclude next week with three further comments, which Mr. Bickel read in preparing his reply for this issue.

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

Leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 120 W. 31 St., New York, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann on theater

The Three Sisters

(National Theater Company of Great Britain)

I arrived in Los Angeles a few weeks ago feeling lucky. An engagement had taken me there just before the conclusion of the six-week visit by the British National Theater, their only appearance in the US, and I was in time to see *The Three Sisters*, one of the two plays they were presenting. (The other was Farquhar's *The Beaux' Stratagem*.) I left Los Angeles feeling depressed.

First, my first experience of the Ahmanson Theater in the L.A. civic center. I have not been in a new theater less congenial to actors and their audience since the encounter between Peter Brook's production of *King Lear* and the New York State Theater at Lincoln Center. At Lincoln Center, a lesson has been learned; plays are no longer presented in the State Theater, only ballet and opera and musicals. The Ahmanson keeps on doing plays.

It is a huge, high auditorium with two high, deep balconies. The theater is wide, and the proscenium opening is relatively narrow, so that the stage looks like a pinhead on a broad body. This is unpleasing enough to the eye, just as the size of the place is alienating in spirit from the actors; but the worst trouble is for the ear. Words float out from that stage into a void above the orchestra, and dissolve. Sometimes they can be understood well enough, at a distance; sometimes their outlines can be guessed at before they melt; sometimes there is only our objective knowledge that the people up there are speaking and that sounds are coming from them. The whole evening is spent in an atmosphere of aural strain. (Just dandy for Chekhov, of all authors.) Lest this be thought my personal crankiness, I report that the chief topic of discussion during the intermission, among people who had been sitting around me in the orchestra, was the inaudibility of the actors.

I'm told that their voices were amplified. Insufficiently, I can assure the management. And imagine building a theater – *building* one – in which actors have to be miked. But even if they could all have been heard easily, the performance would still have seemed to be taking place up a narrow cove on the other side of an inland sea. Another triumph of civic-center theater architecture of the American 1960s.

This difficult environment probably put the visitors at some disadvantage, but they brought other disadvantages with them. The settings are by the Czech designer Josef Svoboda, whose work I first saw at this company's London theater in 1967 – a production of Ostrovsky's *The Storm*. When the curtain went up there I knew I was in the presence of a "yearbook" designer – a man whose work looks impressive when reproduced in albums that summarize a theater year or era and whose real aim seems to be publication in such volumes, not service of the theater. A metallic intrusiveness was the visual tone, and the sets also had, not raked stages, but small hillsides on which the cast had to work. A member of the *Storm* company told me that a chief worry with Svoboda's sets was, which buttock to tense when you stopped to say a line, so that you wouldn't tumble down the slope toward the audience.

Here, in *The Three Sisters*, Svoboda's stage is flat, but so is the feeling. The walls in the Prosorov home are made of long, thin, gray-brown rods, like frozen portieres arranged in curves. He also uses these rods for the outdoor scene in Act IV. The same basic idea is in his design for a Prokofiev work in Prague, 1961, reproduced in *Stage Design Throughout the World Since 1950* (Theatre Arts Books). One effect of those rods is that they bother depth perception after a time – the actors occasionally seem to be appearing behind them, as behind vertical lines on a TV screen. But the chief defect is that they express nothing except the designer's wish to attract notice, and so they harm the production. I am not asking for Moscow Art Theater literalness, necessarily, although literal settings usually do nothing to harm a production; if they give the actor little help, they at least give little hindrance. Svoboda's abstractions abstract nothing that is in the play and are highly unhelpful.

Especially to the director, Laurence Olivier. I saw Olivier's production of *Uncle Vanya* at the National in London in 1964 – sets by Sean Kenny that at least were explicable – and excepting the performance of that basically torpid actor Michael Redgrave as Vanya, it was all sensitively done, with Olivier himself even better as Astrov than he had been with the Old Vic just after the Second War. But this production of *The Three Sisters* is clumsy, and the clumsiness is partly attributable to Svoboda, who provides Olivier with a relatively bare and drafty stage for the Prosorov drawing room. The room looks as if the Prosorovs were just moving into, or out of, an avant-garde warehouse. The sheer maneuvering to get people physically disposed has led to some traffic jams and poor compositions, and seems to have sapped Olivier's imagination. At any rate, the production is barren of idea and texture. I got no idea from it as to what, fundamentally, Olivier thinks the play is about or why he wanted to do it. All that happens in the vein of thematic design – and it makes me cringe to remember it – occurs at the very end. At the close of the last act we hear the band playing in the distance as the soldiers leave, Olga speaks her lines about wishing that she knew why people have to live and suffer, and, then, as the curtain descends, the distant band music suddenly changes to loud strains of the *Internationale*! Either Olivier is serious and thinks that Communism is the happy future toward which Chekhov's agony was moving, or he is being ironic. In either case, this final touch is a blatant imposition on Chekhovian delicacy – a last desperate clutch at meaning in a meaningless production.

Francis Fergusson says:

> The poetry of modern realistic drama is to be found in those inarticulate moments when the human creature is shown responding directly to his immediate situation. . . . It is because of the exactitude with which Chekhov perceives and imitates these tiny responses, that he can make them echo each other, and convey, when taken together, a single action with the scope, the general significance or suggestiveness, of poetry. Chekhov, like other great dramatists, has what might be called an ear for action, comparable to the trained musician's ear for musical sound.

In this finest sense, Olivier's ear is

(Continued on page 39)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reed Whittemore: Middle East Failure

Between the Rock and the Hard Place by Paul Jacobs

(Random House; $4.95)

There seems to be no middle ground in the Middle East. Peace failures are strewn through the desert. Here is another, the failure of earnest private American citizens to persuade a few Arab and Israeli moderates, vaguely of socialist persuasion, to come together unofficially – semiofficially? informally? – for preliminary talks.

Paul Jacobs' book is primarily an account of that failure, and of the absolute mistrust now being displayed by both sides; but it is also incidentally and indirectly an account of how the Middle East crisis may hasten the complete fragmentation of the left.

Not that the left has been solid lately. All the historic struggles of the 57 varieties of socialism are constantly being reenacted in connection with Vietnam, the Black liberation movement and the campus uprisings. But only in the last year or so has the everyday fact of factional differences become more newsworthy than the left's vitality. My impression is that success itself, rather than law-and-order opposition, has produced the new brambles: that is, in schools, city governments and other places where victories have been won, practical difficulties have set in, tarnishing shiny plans, causing in-fighting. Only the big cause of peace remains an untouched unifying force, untouched, that is, by success.

Nor will it be. We now have Laos and the Middle East, as well as Vietnam, to keep peace pure and unreal. But the Middle East struggle has produced a new kind of trouble; unlike the others, it is dividing the left ideologically.

June, 1941, when the Nazis invaded Russia, was a memorably black moment for pacifism (it was also ultimately a black moment for Fascism), and drove doves all over this country to recruiting offices (I remember; for I was one). If I read the Jacobs book rightly he is prophesying a new and somewhat similar black moment soon. Another full-scale Arab-Israeli war will begin, and its local horrors, magnified by the potentially lethal surrounding presence of the big powers, will be still further enlarged by the political repercussions among non-Soviet socialists, who will suddenly have to side with Arab *or* Israeli, and fight again the bitter nationalist and racist battles that, during happier wars like Vietnam, seemed to them beneath contempt.

Paul Jacobs went to the Middle East last summer, under the auspices of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, to find some sort of middle ground where socialists could continue to be internationalists. He didn't find it. And he wrote a book. Maybe it was "god-damned presumptuous," he says, to have gone at all, and acknowledges that if there was presumption it was largely his. Hutchins, Ashmore and others at the Center had been skeptical, but he persisted and prevailed, recalling for them strong anti-Zionist sentiments in Israel eighteen months earlier when he had visited that country, and invoking the words of a few seemingly moderate Arab students he had met at Berkeley and elsewhere. Going first to Israel he was depressed to find "a qualitative change": doves *had* become hawks, or rather "super Jews"; and friends he had counted on had become extraordinarily bitter, especially about that part of the American left sympathetic with the Arabs. Furthermore the bitterness and belligerence had become mixed with genuine back-against-wall fear and depression.

Then going to Beirut, via Athens, he had been jolted to find that even among leftist Arab intelligentsia "the enemy was identified not as an Israeli but as a Jew." In Beirut he made contact largely with leaders of the Fatah party of the Palestinian Arabs – for the Fatah, though a terrorist organization, was also an organization reputedly defensive, not preaching genocide, dissenting from the absolute positions of other Arab states.

He received enough attention from both Israeli and Arab to be ambiguously hopeful, despite the dark omens, that a preliminary conference, with or without American intermediaries, *might* be arranged on neutral ground. He then went home to mend fences at the Center, returned again to Israel and Beirut (and sent an accomplice on an undescribed recruiting trip to Egypt), and went back home once again – to send out invitations to a conference in Rome.

One American who was invited tells me that last fall Jacobs described the proposed event as if it were all wrapped up, as if even the minor details of the conference had been worked out. If Jacobs really believed this he was riding out in the blue with Willie Loman; but the book does not tell us he did. The book says merely that an unspecified number of Arabs, Israelis and Americans were chosen, that invitations were issued and that the invited Arabs refused, as one man, to come. They did not even reply.

Then Jacobs went to licking his wounds and conducting a *post-mortem* conference, of and by the powerless, in November at the Institute of Policy Studies in Washington.

Was it all goddam presumptuous? Around 1915 Henry Ford sent a rusty peace ship to Norway to solve Europe's war – *that*, it now appears, was presumptuous, and also ridiculous; and when it didn't work Henry went to manufacturing munitions. Private peacemakers since then, though sometimes mad, have generally been both more liberal and more knowing than Henry, and certainly Jacobs is one of the most hard-headed Quixotes around. Yet he underestimated the severity of Israeli jitters, and he was a babe in the woods among Arabs.

He seems therefore not to have been so much presumptuous as unbelieving: things *couldn't* be that bad. But they were.

If the Arabs and Israelis go over the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

brink, the US will have, at the least, a new political war on its hands at home, a war that could make the last Chicago convention look like a tea party. With the rift between Jew and Black much widened. With strident pacifists turning hawk just as they did in 1941. And with the Democratic Party as usual trying to accommodate the unaccommodatable. For, as Jacobs, trying to be fair, frequently acknowledges, the justice of the Arab cause is not diminished by the justice of the Israeli cause; and the irreconcilables over there will almost surely emerge, though in exotic new shapes, over here.

One of Jacobs' Israeli friends said, "Tell the Fatah and all the other Arabs that if they don't give me any other choice I will fight side by side with Moshe Dayan, whose politics I hate." Sequentially, Fatah spokesmen described Israel as a gangster state and asserted that they also were fighting for national survival. How will these sentiments emerge in translation across the sea?

One thing is sure: peaceful international democratic socialism ain't doin' so good, a fact that should not, under the present circumstances, give even the sternest Republican pleasure.

The School

The tranquil sun slopes easy in the east,
Leveling its blue rays over the salt marshes
Along the silver tidal pond, etching a string of
Ducks in black. Beyond,

The mares' tails stream along the sky, soft bands
Of ultramarine. Hypnotized by the eye of God I
Lean against the stone bridge's balustrade, and
Mean and mean.

Full tide of silver metaphysics brims my skull.
For me the disoriented sun has realized the
World. At last I stand ready to believe what my
Whiskey teachers thought absurd:

Beauty is its own excuse for meaning. Ineffable,
I drown in the salty air, turn belly up and float
On the sliding tide. But suddenly, and while
I stand in pride,

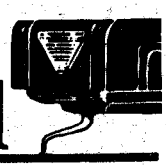
Staring at the disclike pool, the ducks break rank
With an awkward squawk and climb the agitated
Air. As slow as they are fast, a scaly fin,
Huge as houses are,

Rises from the pond. The final sun glints on
The emerging scales which shed their water like a
Tern. Slowly the monstrous fin sinks down again
And I learn and learn.

Carl Bode

Cape Cod, July

waxing verbal



an unprecedented selection of spoken records now available to New Republic readers.

5. REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
The Original Address from March on Washington, August 28, 1963 **4.98**

11. REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
"In Search of Freedom," excerpts from his most famous speeches. **4.98**

22. ROBERT FROST
Reading his own works **6.50**

24. CARL SANDBURG
American Songbag. He sings fifty selections from his collection. Set of 2—12" LPs **13.00**

35. DYLAN THOMAS reading his complete recorded poetry. Set of 2—12" LPs **13.00**

39. MARK TWAIN TONIGHT! Hal Holbrook as one of the most distinguished theatrical events of any season. **5.98**

168. HAMLET
Burton, Broadway cast. 4 LPs **15.98**

272. REINER AND BROOKS
2000 Year Old Man. One of the humor greats of our time. **5.98**

274. TOM LEHRER, SONGS
Dixie, Dope, Harvard, Be Prepared and others **4.98**

666. TOM LEHRER
Poisoning the Pigeons, The Bomb and Masochism **4.98**

834. BEYOND THE FRINGE
The Great British Foursome **5.95**

843. SHAKESPEARE: SOUL OF AN AGE
M. Redgrave, cast—w/booklet **7.50**

871. END THE CIGARETTE HABIT—
Self-hypnosis **5.95**

WAXING VERBAL (New Republic)
1244—19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036 TNR 321

Please send the records whose numbers I have circled below.
5, 11, 22, 24, 35, 39, 168, 272, 274, 666, 834, 843, 871

I enclose $_____ plus 25¢ postage and handling.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip Code_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Leslie Schaffer: Psychiatry and the Holy Grail

The Psychiatrists by Arnold A. Rogow

(Putnam; $7.95)

"The first inside look into the fascinating world of psychiatry and psychoanalysis": thus the blurb. This ambiguous venture is designed, or rather patched together, by a professor of political science with a view to examining the values and so, in some sense, the moral character of contemporary American psychiatry. A wholly admirable and even important undertaking: it doesn't come off.

So, psychiatry with its pants down, lured out from behind its couch, its mask of anonymity gently removed, naked and uncharacteristically ashamed? Well, not quite. Not quite the first either, but no matter. Rogow's apology for his indubitably high-minded excursion goes somewhat along these lines: since it is clear that the psychiatrists are becoming more and more influential, even in the worlds beyond their consulting rooms and hospitals, their opinions and counsel urgently sought (and conceivably far too often given) on virtually every aspect of the human condition; and since – so Rogow puts it – they are "strategically placed for the shaping of values at all levels of society," then it is high time that we had some objectively reliable information – the kind, I assume, that will sooner or later render totally redundant the tiresome necessity for personal judgment – on who they really are, what they are really made of, what they are really up to, and what particular directions their powerful shapings are likely to assume. Somewhat more discreetly, if I have understood him correctly (and I'm not sure that I have understood his need for discretion here), Rogow has also been concerned, if not deeply so, with the problem of what constitutes the real foundations, in terms of the values of skill and enlightenment – if such there should be – of their extraordinarily privileged status. To put it a little differently, he seems to have been wondering whether the psychiatrists have a right to that rather exalted rank and influence that he has attributed to them. "Many Americans," he writes, have been wondering whether

> psychiatry [is] really a medical science, or . . . a sham specialty or quackery that probably does more harm than good? Is the psychoanalyst a legitimate practitioner of mental theory or is he the modern equivalent of the primitive witch-doctor with his colleagues, the phychiatrists and psychiatric social workers, cast as sorceror's apprentices? Was Freud himself truly that genius "who divined the famed riddle [of the Sphinx] and was a man most mighty" or was he merely the first of the eminent "headshrinkers," the term itself redolent of the dark and mysterious rites practiced by aboriginal peoples lost in the past?

Having imagined, and disowned, that poor question (if not the one, then the other) Rogow imagines its literal significance and remains more or less occupied with it throughout his book. That literalness, alas, is not a departure from his style here: it continues to haunt and confine him mercilessly, closing many doors to him. And God bless him, he's done about everything that a man could possibly do under these dismal circumstances to amass the information that he knows beyond doubt he must have in order finally to possess the answer. In this respect, as well as some others, he is quite representative of his time and place. He knows too (and warns us early that we must be patient) that he doesn't yet have enough information, so that his study cannot be considered as "definitive." "The most serious problem in a study of this sort," he asserts in his preface (and under other circumstances I would never have got passed this) "arises from the staple fact that we do not have any reliable description of the 'typical' psychoanalyst or 'average' psychiatrist."

Now the most serious problem confronting Rogow in this study, and the most serious problem with which his reader must contend, is that of the author's pedantry; and it must be clear that pedantry is not simply a matter of a particularly fussy manner. Pedantry really doesn't have much of an idea of what knowledge is worth having (a matter that Rogow mentions somewhere in his book, but whose implications seem utterly lost on him) and has not yet imagined the necessity of the invention of significance – that what matters is not simply given, so to speak, by the materials, or hidden somewhere out there, waiting for some hard-working citizen to turn over the right rock – so that if you turn over all the rocks, sooner or later it will be there. Pedantry ordinarily fails to invent even its own particular ignorance, and tends to know perfectly well what it needs to know. The pedant does not simply throw out the baby with the bath-water: he keeps every last drop of bath-water and spends the rest of his life analyzing it. Thus the ancient Patagonian proverb, which could well serve as a motto for Rogow's tedious exercise: he who collects enough chamber-pots will one day come to possess the Holy Grail. (I learned only recently, from a letter to the *Times Literary Supplement*, that this had its origin in Patagonia: I believe that I first came across it in a bar in Camden, New Jersey, in the winter of 1951, when it was attributed to a sports-writer whose name I have long since forgotten.) I fancy that it was Fred Rodell who some years ago characterized the social sciences in this country as dedicated to the accumulation of mountains of data by means of which the real problems confronting us were effectively concealed from us – in that way pointing to one of those problems. I think he may well have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been right.

At any rate, to the end that he has set himself, Rogow has brought to bear much of the conventional apparatus of the social scientist, rather than an enlivening imagination. He has read voluminously, if not critically, much of the professional literature, missing in that endeavour much that might have been useful to him. He has sent out hundreds of questionnaires, a goodly proportion of which were returned to him. He has been a bit worried about whether his sampling was representative: nothing, I suspect, could matter less. He has counted a great deal. He has visited a number of psychiatrists with his tape-recorder and, together with his assistants, has diligently assembled his materials. Some of them are quite interesting, some less than that, and many of them difficult to interpret and assess. For example, the 18 percent of psychiatrists working in public mental hospitals were "more religious" than the others. 20 percent of the psychoanalysts but only 19 percent of the non-analytically trained psychiatrists read poetry; the preferred reading for both the psychoanalysts and the psychiatrists is history. All of these findings may potentially be of some moment: it might have been enlightening to know, for example, whether the poetry was that of Rod McKuen or Wallace Stevens. And what on earth does "more religious" mean? Some, I'm sure, will complain that Rogow has omitted tests of statistical significance: I would not share their concern. Others may be troubled rather than grateful that the text occupies only two-thirds of the book's roughly three hundred pages – the remainder padded with bibliographies, notes and – most curiously – an abridged version of the American Pyschiatric Association's official glossary of technical terms – some seventy-five pages of them together with their translations into English. Its presence here perplexes me, unless it is simply designed to illustrate, at considerable length, some of the horrors of the professional jargon. It is hardly necessary for understanding Rogow's writing.

What the professor has done – I don't know whether it was worth doing, but certainly admire the skill with which he has accomplished it – is to provide a rapid economy tour of the profession and the context of its concern. It has something of the flavor of seventeen nations and twenty-four cities in only five days and four nights with everything included in the price. Such tours, I would imagine, require certain organizational skills as well as a certain capacity for survival on the part of the tourist, who may be (as Rogow has been) so busy snapping his camera that he will have seen even less than he might have seen. Some of his snapshots are rather good ones, though I have no idea what they will mean to anyone who hasn't been there, nor quite what they mean to their collector. Rogow's tour of the profession certainly covers everything that should be covered: education and training, the ways in which the psychiatrists are organized, brief trips to their homes and offices with some of their casual comments about their lives and practices, their institutions, colleagues and patients, hopes and disappointments, their views on the political scene and whatever. Those who expected something else will be astonished to learn that psychiatrists, and even psychoanalysts, are curiously like the rest of us in virtually every way that matters, as well as in many ways that probably don't. There is a quick survey of some manifestations of the current crisis, such as that is, in psychiatry and psychoanalysis, as well as a broad review of the state of the nation – the sexual revolution, campus disorders, the hippy movement, narcotics, encountering, alienation – indeed, virtually the entire gamut of the presently fashionable abstractions. A preview of things to come finds Rogow looking forward to improved technology in the diagnosis and treatment of mental disorder (whatever that might be for him), including the growth of the use of computers, more effective drugs and a more perfect methodology by virtue of which we may be more adequately informed of our effectiveness or lack of it. He ends with a few comforting remarks, one or two platitudes and whatever openness he can still manage. My own, I must confess, was mildly battered by the time the tour was over. I hope that his prognosis for us is wrong, both for his sake and ours, and suspect that the point made by Shelley in 1821 is no less pertinent than it was then: "We have more moral, political and historical wisdom," he wrote, "than we know how to reduce into practice; we have more scientific and economical knowl-

The Macy's Poem

On the southwest up-escalator at the back of my mind as the salesbell tinkles
its raindrop of cold cash, between floors a woman in green glances across
at the down-escalator.
Deep in her eyes I see pinpoints of light, like raindrops rippling the pools of
her irises, farther back than the eye of her brain
Till the green dress peels back revealing her skeleton, from egg-head to pigeon-
toes, with a skeleton-grin but with obviously false teeth
And marks like terrible footprints on the skull from something like a car crash
or syphilis, either of which might have accounted for the false teeth,
As she moves, decapitated by the fourth floor,
To buy new shoes, Vaseline, a prosthetic device. . . .

But suddenly I am so tired of writing this that I, too, must get off the escalator,
find the Beautyrest section, and lie down, asleep before my head hits the
pillow.

James Reiss

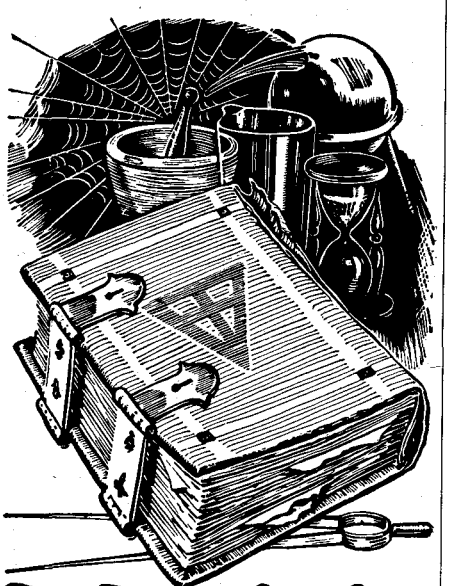
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

edge than can be accommodated to the just distribution of the produce which it multiplies. The poetry in these systems of thought is concealed by the accumulation of facts and calculating processes." And he went on to write this:

> We want the creative faculty to imagine that which we know; we want the generous impulse to act that which we imagine; we want the poetry of life: our calculations have outrun conception; we have eaten more than we can digest. The cultivation of those sciences which have enlarged the limits of the empire of man over the external world has, for want of the poetical faculty, proportionally circumscribed those of the internal world; and man, having enslaved the elements, remains himself a slave.

The professor's study, while good enough journalism, is too much made of the stuff of that disorder that he tries so hard to understand: and conceivably this is one aspect of the psychiatric profession that he has overlooked.

SECRETS ENTRUSTED TO A FEW



The Unpublished Facts of Life

THERE are some things that can not be generally told—*things you ought to know.* Great truths are dangerous to some—but factors for *personal power* and *accomplishment* in the hands of those who understand them. Behind the tales of the miracles and mysteries of the ancients, lie centuries of their secret probing into nature's laws—their amazing discoveries of *the hidden processes of man's mind,* and *the mastery of life's problems.* Once shrouded in mystery to avoid their destruction by mass fear and ignorance, these facts remain a useful heritage for the thousands of men and women who privately use them in their homes today.

THIS FREE BOOK

The Rosicrucians (not a religious organization), an age-old brotherhood of learning, have preserved this secret wisdom in their archives for centuries. *They now invite you to share the practical helpfulness of their teachings.* Write today for a free copy of the book, "The Mastery of Life." Within its pages may lie a new life of opportunity for you. Address Scribe L.F.T.

The ROSICRUCIANS
(AMORC)
San Jose California 95114 U.S.A.
Please Include Your Zip Code

Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

Medical Care

Sirs:

In his three articles (January 17, 24 and February 7), Fred Anderson makes a point with which most people would agree, i.e., the present system of medical care is not satisfactory for the future. However, in the balance, the articles are misleading, simplistic and not constructive.

There are a number of specific areas where I think the author has misled the reader, the result being a polar position which will make little contribution to the development of an "ideal" system of health care:

(1) The present system is barely adequate, but there is little evidence that it is any worse than it has ever been. Society's standards and aspirations have risen, but the system has not changed.

(2) In the first article, the author cites statistics to show that we do not "lead the world" in health care. He cites figures on our relatively high incidence of such diseases as peptic ulcer, diabetes, hypertension and mental disease. There is little evidence that any system of medical care and preventative medicine will decrease the incidence of these four diseases. Mr. Anderson is, in all probability, indicting our genetic heritage and possibly our entire society, rather than our system of care. The high incidence of the cited diseases in the slum may also be related to genetic and social factors. I would certainly agree, however, that we do not provide optimum care to the poverty-stricken.

(3) In both the first and the third articles, Mr. Anderson alludes to rapidly rising fees to doctors and hospital bills. Greed may play a part in the increase in some doctors' fees, but other factors were not mentioned which have contributed to both the physician's fee and the hospital charges: (a) the minimum wage has recently become applicable to hospitals; (b) nurses and housestaff salaries have been increased from their former poverty levels; (c) many physicians charge patients a reasonable fee under Medicare when previously the same patient was charged virtually nothing because of inability to pay. (I have personally done this on a number of occasions, in my very small practice.)

(4) Although the preventative aspects of group practice are desirable, the practical value of preventative medicine at the present time is overstated. For example, many thoughtful physicians doubt the value of "annual physicals," and screening procedures for gastrointestinal carcinoma have not been a a great success. New techniques for mass screening may improve this.

(5) The most serious deficiency of the articles is the omission of the positive aspects of the present "entrepreneurial fee-for-service system." The advantages are probably outweighed for the future by the inefficiency and archaic nature of the entire system of training, medical care, financing, etc.; but these advantages are real and include benefits to the patient and certain financial gains to society.

The individual and continuing contact of a patient with the same good doctor, in spite of the hyperbole by organized medicine and its opponents on the subject, does appear to be satisfying to a patient. Group practice, with all its advantages, does not provide this

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

CARL BODE *is the author of a recent biography of H. L. Mencken.* JAMES REISS *and his wife are co-authors with James Dickey of* Self-interviews. DR. LESLIE SHAFFER, *a Washington, D.C., psychoanalyst, is editor of the* Review of Existential Psychiatry and Psychiatry.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

degree of personal identification. In addition, a good doctor often keeps down the costs of tests, procedures and medications. Medicine is not yet precise, and the individual practitioner must decide which tests to run. At present, in private practice, a good doctor orders only those tests that he thinks are absolutely necessary to enable him to diagnose and treat a patient. Many physicians keep tests to a minimum because: (a) to do otherwise is wasteful; (b) they pride themselves on their clinical acumen; (c) they are not often concerned with malpractice suits with patients they know; and, lastly, (d) the patient can often barely "afford" essential tests.

Two things will probably occur under a nationalized health plan, if the present trends continue. When the government or an insurance plan pays the bills, the incentive to reduce the number of laboratory tests (blood tests, X-rays, electroencephalograms, electrocardiograms, etc.) will decrease appreciably. In addition, when the relationship between a physician and a patient is less close, malpractice suits are reported to increase. In such a legal climate and lacking much concern for costs, a physician is apt to order many, many additional and unnecessary tests as well as request multiple consultations, all to protect himself. This situation already exists, to some extent, on trauma services.

The physician is a fundamental cog in keeping costs down, and his assistance must be enlisted and his motivations harnessed. There must be changes in our system of health care, as Mr. Anderson has said; but National Health Insurance such as he outlines ignores many of the realities of our society.

Many other solutions in our health needs merit consideration and, possibly, simultaneous implementation. These include: (a) increase the paramedical personnel at various levels; (b) increase the education of the public in basic health information; and (c) change the laws on malpractice to something approximating Workmen's Compensation.

John T. Farrar, M.D.
Virginia Commonwealth University

Sirs:

Mr. Fred Anderson has, with the best of intentions, arrived at a painfully wrong conclusion: that the fundamental problem is not medical

MAN-MADE POLYMERIC
NEW PRICE SHOES

SAY "the END" to $15 to $30 SHOES

2 PAIR FOR 14.95

TAKE YOUR CHOICE OF FOUR STYLES

CASH IN NOW on these Extraordinary Savings! The day of the high priced shoe is over. Folks are paying many dollars less than ever before, thanks to the miracle new "polymeric" shoe materials. This is no "cheap imitation" shoe. It's the real thing: the New Price Shoe that looks and feels and wears as well as any shoe you have ever worn and yet costs a fraction of the price.

YOU'LL BE SHOCKED WHEN YOU SEE OUR SHOES

After what you've paid for shoes, you'll wonder how any such price as ours can be. Well, you get top quality uppers, good lifetime laces, life-of the shoe PVC sole and heels, flexible support shank in the arch, gentle foam heel cushions, superior gentlemen's detailing. The works! Even the new luxury linings.

IS YOUR SIZE ON THIS CHART?

	5½	6	6½	7	7½	8	8½	9	9½	10	10½	11	12	13
A									✓	✓	✓	✓		
B				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
C			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
D	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
E			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
EEE			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

WE CARRY ALL THESE SIZES!

Please note: At the price we sell shoes, we are not allowed to mention the famous brand name of this new shoe material. Suffice it to say it looks like top grain leather, performs even better. Why pay higher and higher prices? Get in on this astounding low price. Send in now:

TWO PAIRS FOR $14.95

We will be proud to send them to you for ON APPROVAL AT HOME INSPECTION
Your remittance refunded in full if you do not choose to wear them.

See It Yourself! Use this Coupon!

NEW PRICE SHOES

SOONER OR LATER YOU WILL BE WEARING THE NEW PRICE SHOES

Today's new man-made shoe materials beat the price out of leather, scoff at scuffs, keep better shape, and *Never Need a Shine*. Why spend even one dollar more for shoes? Here's something NEW. Here's something PROVEN.

AS ADVERTISED IN
Life Magazine
The New York Times
Wall Street Journal
National Observer
Look Magazine
Newsweek

HABAND
Paterson, N. J. 07508

TWO PAIRS FOR $14.95
HABAND COMPANY
265 North 9th Street
PATERSON, N. J. 07508

O.K. Gentlemen, send me the two pairs of Shoes specified at right. My remittance of $ ..... is enclosed.

COLOR & STYLE	HOW MANY	WHAT SIZE
Black Oxfords		
Brown Oxfords		
Cordovan Oxfords		
Black Loafers		
Cordovan Loafers		
Black Wing Tips		
Brown Wing Tips		
Black Monk Strap		

NE

Name .....
Street .....
City & State ..... ZIP CODE

HABAND COMPANY — Operating by U.S. Mail since 1925

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

manpower, but a reorganization of financing and elimination of "fee for service." He states: "We will need more physicians and other health professionals, but added numbers will not get the American people the care they need at prices they all of them can afford."

We have here a gross underestimation of the actual shortage of physicians, and the effects this has on the availability and cost of medical care. It should be clear that all the planning and group practices and free services in the world will not change the situation in the Bronx where there are 1,452,000 people depending upon 673 general practitioners (of which only 483 are under age 65) for primary (emergency or immediate diagnosis and treatment) health care. If *all* health services were absolutely free in this area it would not increase the volume of health care delivery capable of being delivered by this number of physicians.

FOR A FREEDOM PASSOVER: FACE THE AMERIKAN PHAROAHS

Take part in a Freedom Passover service, fusing the traditional story of liberation from the Pharaohs with a modern story of liberation from war, racism, polution. . . .

Use Arthur Waskow's *Freedom Seder: A New Haggadah for Passover* —with passages from Ginsberg, M. L. King, the Warsaw Ghetto, John XXIII, the Midrash—

Join in your family, your commune, your Movement:

DEMONSTRATE! CELEBRATE!

on March 26 (Holy Thursday—in memory of the Last Supper)

on April 4 (in memory of the death of Martin Luther King)

on April 19, 20, 21 (at Passover time)

(Jointly pubished by Ho-t-Rinehart-Winston and Micah Press.)

Micah Press, PO Box 19149
Washington, D.C. 20036
Please send me Arthur Waskow's *Freedom Seder*. I enclose a check for $..... covering:

.....sets of 10 copies at $10 a set
.....sets of 100 copies at $80 a set

Name .....

Address .....

(Minimum order 10 copies)

The Bronx has a ratio of one general practitioner (who delivers almost all of the primary diagnosis or treatment) for every 3000 people. This is bad enough (considering Uraguay has one GP for every 1368 people) but it is much better than in the states of Missouri, New Mexico, Rhode Island, Georgia, Alabama or Michigan all of which have only one GP for more than 8000 people.

In Missouri, for example, there are only 488 general practitioners under age 65 for 4,500,000 people (one for every 9254 persons). In Mississippi, we have 44 black doctors (in *any* kind of specialty) for 1,000,000 black people, or one for every 22,725 black people. There are at least 170 places in the world with a better doctor-people ratio according to WHO statistical records.

In the prestigious New England Journal of Medicine (October 1969) Mr. Irving J. Lewis, of the Mental Health Administration, said:

"Manpower probably is still the most critical ingredient in our health-service system and success in developing new patterns in organization and delivery depends upon the availability of physicians to work in new settings. If the pressure continues on the same handful of general practitioners, the results are obvious. If the doctor wants only to protect his coronary vessels he raises his fee. He is working very hard seeing 60 people a day and he is asked to the 120 patients a day. He sees them, and therefore he sees them for a shorter time and does a poorer job. If he has to see that many patients he does not have time to take care of really sick people. Thus he moves the sick patients into the hospital, if he can find a hospital, all of which creates the demand for the modernization of the health plant. The concept that the problems of distribution can be handled by mere availability of money has proved unworkable."

Thomas W. O'Malley
Copiague, N.Y.

In reply:

Professor Farrar cites my "most serious deficiency" as a failure to appreciate the advantages of fee-for-service medicine. Fee-for-service medicine does not keep down the cost of tests, procedures and medications; it has been shown to have precisely the opposite effect, here and abroad, because under our system the more a physician does, the more he is paid. American medicine is notorious for the willingness of our physicians to poke, prod, order, test, medicate – do something: and charge a separate fee for each deed done.

Does Professor Farrar think that the family-oriented health team I describe will decrease physician-patient contact and continuity? It seems reasonable that it would improve and increase it. The problem is enhancing continuity of care: a patient has to be referred by his GP to a specialist, or sent off to the hospital, where new relationships with an entirely different kind of doctor, frequently not personally known to the patient's GP, must be established.

I am interested in the "certain financial gains to society" of which Professor Farrar speaks. Are they these?

1964 ....$28,380
1965 28,960
1966 32,170
1967 35,000
1968 .... 37,000 (approximately)
1969 .... 39,000 (projected)

These are *median* annual personal incomes, before taxes, of self-employed MDs under 65 years of age. My source is *Medical Economics's* Continuing Survey.

I agree with Mr. O'Malley; we need more physicians. But whether they will be effective enough, once in practice, to meet nationwide demand for equal, thorough care under the present system is another question, one which the most painstaking and comprehensive health manpower study the nation has ever commissioned answered in the negative. On page two of volume I of their 687-page survey, the National Advisory Commission on Health Manpower says: "There *is* a crisis in American health care . . . *The crisis, however, is not simply one of numbers. . . . Unless we improve the system* through which health care is provided, care will continue to become less satisfactory, even though there are massive increases in cost and in numbers of health personnel." (Italics theirs)

I also might add that a possible bloc to increased health manpower seems to have given way after 1960. In 1910 the Flexner Report on American medical schools shocked the nation by showing that every medical school in the country except Johns Hopkins was below standard. Accepting the challenge, the AMA by 1927 had driven out of existence all substandard schools which did not improve adequately, so

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

schools in all, half of all those in existence when Flexner began his study in 1908. This may have been the AMA's finest hour. The trouble comes in try- to explain why there was only *one* more medical school in 1960 than there was in 1927, a full generation earlier, in spite of enormous increases in population, medical school applications, capital funds, and, not incidentally, doctors' fees. Some say that the AMA through its control of accreditation deliberately kept the profession small. Today there are 100 accredited medical schools, and the AMA agrees that we need more health professionals.

Fred Anderson

Pollution

Sirs:

It is reassuring to see a meaningful thought spelled out in Richard H. Gilluly's article (Jan. 24) on reducing pollution. He says that "what would help more is fewer people and a lower per capita rate of consumption. . . ."

To measure standard of living by consumer goods and services, and to call that standard good or the best in the world is to assume that those goods are beneficial. Many of these goods and services used as measures are not beneficial in any real sense and to use huge amounts of energy to create them and run them is wasteful. Air conditioning is a flagrant example of such waste. Advertising has taught us that there is something degrading, offensive or "un-American" about functioning in temperatures above 70°. It is, in fact, natural. Man has done so until about 15 years ago.

Sydney Portner
Montreal, Canada

Kauffmann, *from page 31*

deaf in this production.

Specifically: Maggie Smith's Masha. Miss Smith is one of the best of English-speaking actresses, beautiful, strong, slender, intelligent, with an admirable technique. (Except for the use of her arms. They seem to end at her elbows; the forearms dangle lifelessly. See, for example, her "cameo" in *Oh! What a Lovely War.*) She could be a splendid Masha, but, under Olivier, she plays it for one dominant note: anger. Certainly Masha is the angriest of the lot because the most frustrated and securely trapped, but if she is nothing *but* angry, we get something of a shrew – and a comic shrew at that. This is a Masha who is merely frustrated, in a single-strand sexual way, and whose attraction to Vershinin is reduced to a small-town, small-time escapade.

Robert Stephens is Vershinin. Another outstanding talent; but he comes on here rather like the bumptious president of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, peppy, booming his accented words like a short-wave radio occasionally tuning in. He looks immature, and he, too, overemphasizes one trait. Vershinin has sillinesses, but they must be set in a conscious context of rueful middle-age or else he becomes slightly ridiculous, not humanly pathetic. This Vershinin is neither maturely melancholy nor sufficiently self-aware.

The result of these two off-balance characterizations is that their final parting – one of the most poignant moments in the modern repertoire – gets laughs from the audience, deservedly. Instead of seeing the last hope for inner life being torn from two unhappy people, we see a fussy, inept man trying to get away from a frustrated woman who is becoming just a bit of a nuisance. Olivier even lets Vershinin tug at Masha's arms around his neck – when surely the whole point of his appeal to Olga is to take her sister from him because he *cannot* tear her loose.

The Olga of Jeanne Watts is flavorless, the Irina of Louise Purnell is remote – and is the least intelligible performance in that acoustical swamp. The best performance was the Tusenbach of Ronald Pickup, touching in a tall, concave, gently firm way, although even Pickup lost the emotional center of his farewell speech. The worst performance is the Chebutykin of Paul Curran, an old-fashioned "voice" actor with nothing at all under his big noise.

This company uses a translation by Moura Budberg, which sounds all right. But the best that I know is by Randall Jarrell, published by Macmillan with Jarrell's excellent and extensive notes.

Olivier in his long career has been a wonderful actor (*Oedipus*) and a disappointing actor (*Othello*), a good director (*Henry V*) and a passable director (*Richard III*). *The Three Sisters* is on the debit side of the ledger. Each of us who loves Chekhov is proprietary about him as we are about few dramatists and each of us is quite certain that he understands the Chekhovian style. But whatever one's conviction about that style, the effect of it must be to arrive at the "single action" that Fergusson describes, using the term "action" in the Aristotelian sense. Let us say, imperfectly but concisely, that "action" is the inner motion of the play that is made manifest by the plot. No such matter seems to have troubled Olivier here – at least, not until he tied on that closing strand of the *Internationale.*

As I say, very depressing. I hope this is not the level of National Theater productions these days. Maybe a good deal of it – I also hope – was the fault of that bloated building.

Anyway, I flew home on the new 747. *That* was exciting.

Note. A number of readers have written to point out a mistake I made four weeks ago in my review of the film *End of the Road.* I said that the screenwriter Terry Southern had been responsible for making the Doctor black, when in fact he is black in the John Barth novel on which the film is based. The cartooning of blackness by Southern and by James Earl Jones, who played the part, misled my memory. My thanks to those who wrote, and apologies to all.

Deepening dilemma

"To bring inflation to an end," say the editors in their Review of the Month, "may not be possible without a prolonged period of stagnation in which excess capacity and unemployment become general." Also, Juan Bosch declares for "dictatorship supported by the people." And Paresh Chattopadhyay on state capitalism in India. Send for your free sample of the March issue now.

MONTHLY REVIEW

Edited by Paul M. Sweezy and Harry Magdoff

Dept. 3 116 West 14 St. N.Y., N.Y. 10011
$7 a year students $5 (foreign add $1)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Personals

DOWN-HOME COUNTRY FURNITURE . . . Imagination plus energy plus hard work equals massive CUSTOM-HAND-MADE furniture to last a lifetime. Designed—to blow the mind. Free information. Send needs to: Down-Home Furniture Company Store, 1733 Twentieth Street, N.W., #4, Washington, D.C. 20009, peace.

MEDITATION? Practice invokes knowledge, evokes insight. First year bimonthly training course free. Write MEDITATIONS, P.O. Box 566N, Ojai, California 93023.

LEGAL, PLEASANT TURN-ON, South American herb. Brew like tea. Great with lovemaking. Hurry before legislation turns us off. Quarter pound $7.50. Kilos $50.00. M.O. or cash. Omnibus Ltd., P.O. Box 544, Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

LONG INDIAN MONKS' ROBES. Men's, women's pink, purple, red, blue, green, orange, $13. Uriah Heep's, Chappaqua, N. Y. 10514.

HELP NAVAJO CHILDREN learn to read. Donate typewriters in good condition to experimental community school, Navajo Reservation, Dillon Platero, Rough Rock Demonstration School, Chinle, Arizona 86503.

12 EXPERIENCED YOUNG EDUCATORS wish to start a small sane high school. Need community or patron desiring same. Anywhere in U.S.A. or Canada. Box 4295, New Republic.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. Send writing sample and $5 to Elizabeth King, 41 East 29th Street, New York, New York 10016.

TIME TO RENEW WATCHBAND CALENDAR? 12 months, $1.50 (specify starting month). IDEA HOUSE, Box 2260, New York 10017.

ZODIAC SEX POSITION POSTER (once banned in S.F.) only $2.50. State you are over 21. A Big-Little Store, 1077 Mission, San Francisco, California 94103.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Comprehensive new "Guide to Employment Abroad" covers all possibilities, all occupations, sixty countries. Includes exclusive "Directory of American Companies Overseas." Only $2.00 postpaid. Satisfaction guaranteed or payment refunded. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, New York 11730.

HOW TO BE THE PERSON YOU WANT TO BE! Somatopsychic yoga overcomes hangups. Literature: NOVAYOGA, INC., Box 393A, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

I.Q. TEST. Self-score. $1.00. Psychological Tests, Box 1343, Portland, Oregon.

MEET YOUR IDEAL MATE (computerized matching). All ages. Write: TEAM Project, 101 West 30th Street, Suite 531, NYC 10001.

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PRINTING OFFICE. Eight plates from the Diderot Encyclopedia have been carefully reproduced in a large 11x17 portfolio format. $10. The Oliphant Press, 5th floor, 6 Varick Street, New York, New York 10013.

THE WIDER QUAKER FELLOWSHIP tries to reach out to individuals who are drawn to, but do not wish to join, the Religious Society of Friends. Over three thousand persons of various races and creeds in sixty-one countries are members. We invite correspondence with other such seekers. 152A N. 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY CAMPUS: unique lecture notes. Hundreds of courses, taken directly in class by professionals from world-famous teachers. $1-$4. Send for latest free catalog. FYBATE LECTURE NOTES, Dept. R, 2440 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, California 94704.

WORLD FUTURE SOCIETY, publisher of THE FUTURIST, is nonprofit, nonpartisan association devoted to serious study of possible future developments. For information, write: World Future Society, Box 19285-NR, Washington, D.C. 20036.

GEORGE BROWN, FIRST CONGRESSMAN to vote against Vietnam appropriations, now challenging California Senator George Murphy. All type contributions needed. Dept. NR, BROWN SENATE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, 1200 South Western, Los Angeles 90006.

FEEL YOUR LIBERALISM OUTDATED? Be a humanist corroborator, not a rock-thrower. Free literature, write: the American Humanist Association, Dept. NR-4, 125 El Camino del Mar, San Francisco, California 94121.

DISCOVER AN INTRIGUING, fun approach to meeting alert, literate, Jewish singles. For FREE analytical questionnaire write giving age. OPERATION MAZEL TOV, 663 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10022.

"McGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT" Bumperstickers, 5/$1; Buttons, 4/$1; Matchbooks, 50/$1; Emery Boards, 10/$1. McGovern Products, Box 10002, Kansas City, Missouri 64111.

"GUIDED MEDITATION," highly effective way to increase creative thought. 12" LP by Swami Sivananda Radha. $6.50. Ashram Records, North 2918 Stout, Spokane, Washington 92206.

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS. The right of each adult to own his or her own body is the paramount moral law. The word human means exactly air breathing Homo sapiens. Write: AAAL, P.O.B 36122, Los Angeles, California 90036.

PSYCHEDELIC LIGHTING MANUAL! Make light-machines, strobes, organs, slides, etc. Send $2.00—Lightrays, 713K Pine, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19106.

KODACOLOR PRICE-BREAKTHROUGH—Perfect prints, 8 or 12 exposure rolls $2: 20 exposure, $3. Full credit unprintable negatives. Money-back guarantee. We pay postage both ways! Send $2 and film or write for free mailer. Mystic Color Lab, Box R-144, Mystic, Connecticut 06355.

ECS: A new procedure for identifying academic and non-academic career opportunities; an additional source of candidates for institutional positions. No contingent placement fees. Educational Career Service, Inc., One Palmer Square, Princeton, N. J. 08540; (609)-924-4660.

SLEEP-LEARNING; HYPNOTISM! Strange catalog free. Autosuggestion, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN CHILD, most underprivileged of all, has a special claim upon our compassion and support. A sponsorship, $12.50 monthly, helps him to continue his schooling and can make you his friend. Futures For Children, 5612 Parkston Road, Washington, D. C.

LIKE COLORFUL STATIONERY—imprinted with your name and address? Choose from many styles, sizes, rainbow colors. Send 25c (postage-handling) for big idea-packed sample assortment top quality social and professional items. Well received as gift. Jacques Stationery, Room 5-FN, 310 East 25th St., NY, NY 10010.

NEED Address for THE POOR PEOPLES CORPORATION. Write: Greene, Ten Longfellow Park, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

SPONSOR a needy American Indian child enabling him to continue his schooling. Correspondence, visits, reports. $12.50 monthly. Brochure. *Future for Children*, 5612 Parkston Road, Washington, D.C. 20016.

NOW ACCEPTING MEMBERSHIPS. Request folder describing 20 services. National Writers Club, 745A Sherman Street, Denver, Colorado 80203.

UNITED NATIONS FLAG DECALS, 3x5—3/$1.00 C.D. ENTERPRISES, Box N28, Riverside, Connecticut 06878.

ZIP CODE DIRECTORIES. 576 pages, includes maps. Send $1.25 (postpaid) to Frank Bognet, Box 1291 Cardinal Station, Washington, D.C. 20007.

SINGLE?—See PHOTOS of 4-10 ideal mates to select before dating! Advanced matching systems assure compatibility! All ages. Entire U.S. Information and FREE questionnaire: YALE PHOTO-DATING® SERVICE, INC. P.O. Box 509, Dept. K, New York, N.Y. 10028.

ATHENA CENTER FOR CREATIVE LIVING. Health Program, Yoga, Psycho-drama, Seminars. April through November, 1970 in San Miguel de Allende, Mexico. Write: 2308 Smith Avenue, Aliquippa, Pennsylvania 15001.

WHOSE PERFUME? Yours should say the things you want to say. Request chart. PERFUMES, 102 Criquet Avenue, Ardmore, Pennsylvania 19003.

BLOW YOURSELF UP! 1½'x2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot $3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, Calif. 90307.

HIGHER INCOME, Security and Power, 256 page Book "Thinking Big" reveals secrets that make men Rich! Send $2.00. NELSON ENTERPRISES, 842 East Estate Blvd., Charleston, S.C. 29407.

Peace Personals

WORLD PEACE requires ESPERANTO text, record loaned FREE. Esperanto Library, DEPTNR, Middleton, Wisconsin 53562.

OFFSET PRINTING FOR THE PEACE MOVEMENT (candidates and organizations) at cost plus shipping charges. Write: PEACE NOW PRESS, Box 851, Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

"STOP THE WAR NOW" Bumperstickers 25c each. 5/$1.00; "I AM AN EFFETE SNOB FOR PEACE" Button $1.00 each, 6/$5.00. *New Party of Florida*, 141 N.E. 3rd Avenue, Miami, Florida 33132.

BOOK OF 500 "PEACE NOW" STAMPS in full color showing Peace Symbol (vanilla flavored) only $1.25. American Stamp & Book Company, Box 2209, Dept. NC-9, San Diego, California 92101. (Distributors also wanted.)

PEACE NOW — Official March on Washington Materials — bumperstickers and buttons. 4 for $1.00; 50 for $10. Peace Now, 901 Kentucky, Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DISPLAY YOUR PRIDE IN PEACE. Use 2½" peace symbol car antenna ball in bright day-glow colors on your car antenna. $1.00 each or 4 for $3.00 postpaid. Dealer and distributor inquiries invited. Write: Howard Penley, Dept. N, Union Wholesalers, Box 1266, Allentown, Pennsylvania 18105.

"MY LAI" BUTTON, white letters on black. 4/$1, 25/$5, write: PEACE NOW, P.O.B. 851, Lawrence, Kansas 66044.

IT'S A GASSAR! SANE's chemical-biological warfare packet. Prepare for the upcoming Senate debate on Geneva Protocol banning CBW. 13 items, $1.00. Dept. A, SANE, 381 Park Avenue South, NYC 10016.

UP AGAINST THE WALL BUTTONMAKER! 10% discount to the Movement. All custom-made. Send $1.00 (refundable) for price list. LARRY FOX, Box 581-N, Hempstead, New York. (516) 825-7706.

SMALL HANDSOME PEACE SYMBOLS. Gold—Silver. pin $1.50; on delicate chain $2.50. Uriah Heep's, Chappaqua, New York 10514.

HOW MANY VIETNAMESE FOUGHT IN OUR CIVIL WAR? and VIETNAM—LOVE IT OR LEAVE IT. Bumperstickers, 5/$1.00. Buttons, 4/$1.00. Stamps, 66/$1.00. International McClelland, Dept. NR, 407 Maple, Beverly Hills 90210.

DIRECTORIES OF COMMUNES—$1; Nudist/Sex—$1; Social Change Agencies—$1; Free Schools—$1; All 4 for $3: Alternatives! #NR, 1526 Gravenstein Highway, No., Sebastopol, California 95472.

ALL METAL "PEACE TAGS" Fashioned after "Dog Tags" but with Peace symbol and Dove. On chain. $1.00 each. 5/$4.50. Peace Products, Box 81-N, Hempstead, N.Y. 11551.

EASY RIDER SHIRTS American Flag, MORATORIUM blue "V" hand sign, HARVARD STRIKE red fist-black letters, PEACE blue peace symbol. "T" shirts $2.50, SWEATSHIRTS $3.50. Sizes Sm 34/36, Med 38/40, Lg 42/44, XLG 46. Prepaid. KAY 4, Box 6-NR, Glencoe, Illinois 60022.

FACTS NEEDED ON CASES OF DRAFT being misused. Write: W. J. H., P.O.B. 351, College Park, Maryland 20740.

WOULD YOU HAVE PAID TAXES FOR AUSCHWITZ? Find out how to STOP paying for the atrociyt of Vietnam. Write NOW to: War Tax Resistance, 339 Lafayette St., New York, N. Y. 10012.

EXCITING EUROPEAN PEACE SEMINAR seeing top government officials. July 16th-August 6th. Write: Jerome Davis, Friends House, Sandy Spring, Maryland.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS. Low-cost, custom-made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. Please state intended use. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 873 Longacre, St. Louis, Mo. 63132. Phone (314) 423-5495.

POSTERS (over 250, many anti-war), BUTTONS (over 200), BUMPERSTICKERS, PEACE JEWELRY & EARRINGS. Wholesale & Retail. Free Catalogue. A BIG-LITTLE STORE, 1077 Mission, San Francisco, California 94103.

Literature

A 7 YEAR COLLECTION OF BACK ISSUE New York Times and Washington Post book review sections available. Also New York Times magazine sections. Best offer. Contact: Harold Clayton, 1843 S Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

FOR A FRESH INSIGHT into the news, read the WEEKLY PEOPLE, the voice of Marxian-Socialism. 6 Months $1.50; year $3. Sample copy on request. Box 200, Brooklyn, New York 11202.

PUNSTERS!—"LASSIE" assaults civilized sensibilities. Anguish guaranteed. $1.00. Box 3234, Wilson, N.C. 27893.

THE MAJORITY REPORT: Social and political actions building for a majority on the Democratic Left. Submit materials. Monthly free classified advertisements to subscribers. $3.00 yearly. 1935 North Fremont, Chicago, Illinois 60614.

A DIFFERENT PAPER. Not at newsstands. $1 year, five good issues. PEPPER & SALT, 210 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10010.

YOU THINK MISSISSIPPI SOULS HAVE IT BAD . . . learn about Texas 'chicanos.' Mexican-Americans, 129 Cincinnati, San Antonio, Texas 78201, $1.00.

FREE BOOK. Prophet Elijah Coming Before Christ. Megiddo Mission, Dept. 69, 481 Thurston Road, Rochester, N.Y. 14619.

WANT TO FIGHT pollution, overpopulation, etc., but don't know how to begin? Send for Citizens' Action Report. Special $2 introductory price. Citizens' Action, P.O. Box 411, White Plains, New York 10602.

I CHING. Hardbound edition of The Book of Changes and old Chinese bronze coins. Ten dollars. Kamala Book Store, P.O. Box 15061, San Francisco 94115.

CONSERVATIVE newsletter-review takes direct issue with articles in liberal journals. Send for free copy: OPTIONS, Box 39S, Phoenix, Maryland 21131.

BACK DATE MAGAZINE: Send needs. Midtown, Box 917-NR, Maywood, New Jersey 07607.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON, a comprehensive record of November 15-16 in over 100 excellent photographs. Send $2.50: Relevance Press, Box 336 X, Newcomb Station, Charlottesville, Va. 22901.

GUIDE TO THE AMERICAN LEFT. Directory and Bibliography. FIFTH EDITION. 3,000 listings, $4.00. Directory, Box 1832, Kansas City, Missouri 64141.

SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION for students, teachers and armed forces personnel to The New Republic Magazine. $6.00 for one year (a Saving of $6.00) or $4.00 for eight months. Mail payment and this ad to The New Republic Subscription Department/381 West Center Street/Marion, Ohio 43302.

HALDEMAN—JULIUS BLUE BOOKS—20c and 50c—all subjects. Listed: 10c. Larson-NR, #106, 6364 Yucca, Hollywood 90028.

WRITERS' CONFERENCE FELLOWSHIPS, scholarships, manuscript awards. University of Colorado Writers' Conference for young nonestablished writers. June 21-July 3. Denise Levertov, Richard Hugo (Poetry); Isaac Bashevis Singer, Herbert Gold (Fiction); Mitch Goodman (Nonfiction); Arthur Weingarten (T.V.-Drama). Professor John Wrenn, University of Colorado, Woodbury 103-R, Boulder, Colorado 80302.

APPALACHIAN POETRY. Singings of the Damned, $3 copy. Box 109, Gahanna, Ohio 43230.

POETS OF THE NEW YORK SCHOOL. New important Anthology of nine poets and nine artists. Gotham Book Mart & Gallery, Inc., 41 West 47th Street, NYC 10036. $12.50, 25c postage, NYC residents 75c tax.

Authors

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details. Graphicopy, Box 285R, Floral Park, New York 11001.

Schools

EXPERT INSTRUCTION IN YOGA. G. Stephen, 2440 16th Street, N.W. #101, Washington, D.C. 20009, 462-0546.

FOR STUDENT TRAVEL or Study or Family stays or Camping . . . small groups . . . at a leisurely pace . . . lively flexible programs . . . leaders of caliber, tast and wit . . . 12th year. Itins. in Western Europe, Greece and Yugoslavia. Students Abroad, Inc., 771-R West End Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10025. (212) 928-7878.

MEXICAN MOUNTAIN intercultural study-travel. College credit. Free brochure. MEXCULT, 1800 Argentia, Apt. A., Dallas, Texas 75224.

SOCIETY FOR EDUCATIONAL VENTURES (outgrowth of a vigorous experimental program in a straight college) seeks resources to become an independent college. We have experience, a program, 50 interested students, 8 faculty (and vitality). We need money, a site, trustees, faculty, students, and general support. Goal: a leading, innovative college of 300 students within 5 years. Help reform higher education. Write Box 48, Alfred, Maine 04002.

SANFORD. A well organized coeducational boarding and day school offering a sound background for college. Country campus. Advanced courses. Special study help. Art, drama, music, sports, riding. Accredited. Box 110, Hockessin, Delaware 19707.

COLLEGE DROP-OUTS: We concentrate on the educational redevelopment of selected students, including poor achievers, with unrealized learning potential. Educational Development Center, 23 Adelbert Street, Berea, Ohio 44017. Dept. NR or Educational Development Center, 165 East Tenth Street, Claremont, California 91711, Dept. NR.

YOU'LL DIG IT AT TARQUINIA. Six-week college credit program in Etruscan archeology exclusive with Trinity College/Rome Campus, A, Hartford, Connecticut 06106.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DO YOU TEACH? We suggest you enliven your class by using The New Republic. On bulk orders of ten copies or more to a single address, the cost per copy is only 15c. Write to the Classroom Dept., New Republic, 1244 19th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Summer Schools

THE NONSCHOOL. Next summer come with us to Europe (ages 14-18). Peter Franck, George School, Newtown, Pennsylvania.

MONTESSORI TEACHER TRAINING — Next course June 23rd-August 7th. Live, learn on beautiful campus. Fully approved. AMS Certified. Write: Midwest Montessori, NR, 1010 West Chicago, Illinois 60622.

PENDLE HILL SUMMER SCHOOL—Quaker Study Center in suburban Philadelphia offers July program of 3 to 5 day sessions on Quakerism. Underground Church, poetry. Also world religion with Huston Smith. Write: D. R. Fradley, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania 19086.

THE ARTS CENTER AT GODDARD COLLEGE in its 18th season, June 28 to August 23, 1970, is an opportunity for serious-minded people to play chamber music, work in the visual arts, theater and dance . . . a place to meet old friends and make new ones in the Vermont Hills. For information, write: Phil Homes, Director, Box R, Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont 05667.

GROVE FARM WORKSHOP in the Humanities for boys and girls, 14-18. Integrated, interdenominational. Creative thinking through literature, drama, history, music. Work projects: forestry conservation. June 28th-August 9th. B. S. deFrees, Director, North Rumford, Maine 04278.

SUMMER ON A GREEK ISLAND: AEGINA ARTS CENTRE—Study painting, music, archeology, poetry, Greek literature and language, attend music and drama festivals at Epidaurus, dancing, tavernas, the real sea and sun on unspoiled Aegina. One month sessions, July or August, $200. Charter flights. Write: John Zervos, DePaul University, 25 E. Jackson, Chicago, Illinois 60604.

LESLEY FROST, daughter of Robert Frost, is now considering applications for her seventh summer (July-August) of her school in Spain (near Segovia) for girls 15-17. Spanish and French taught; art and history emphasized. Weekends in Madrid, Toledo, Salamanca, etc. Tour of Granada, Sevilla, Cordoba. Address Miss Frost, 129 East 10th Street, New York City 10010.

FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS interested in study, travel and homestay, Mount Hermon Summer Schools offer programs in England, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Mexico, Japan, Russia and Spain. All programs are co-educational. Faculty are carefully selected, highly qualified teachers. June 24th-August 20th. $1,200 all inclusive fee. For brochure and application materials, write Department R, Mount Hermon Summer Schools, Mount Hermon, Massachusetts 01354.

Camps

THE PUTNEY SCHOOL WORK CAMP is reopening this summer and will provide a daily life that is balanced between physical, cultural and intellectual activities, and an atmosphere in which a young person can deepen his insight into himself and extend his outlook on the world. Co-ed, 13-17. Robert Williams, Director. Phone No. (802) 387-5566 or 5541. The Putney School, Elm Lea Farm, Putney, Vermont 05346.

Campo Venezia — **July 2 Aug. 12**

Teens 13-16 closely supervised. Limited enrollment, art, swimming, tours in Venice and vicinity, optional language and sports. *Plus 10 day Italy tour.*
BROCHURE: BOX 55, BALDWIN, N.Y. 11510
Phone: evenings & weekends (516) 536-5378

SUN VALLEY MUSIC CAMP — Heart of the Rocky Mountains in Sun Valley, Idaho. Internationally known faculty—Jr. High, High School, and College—Vocal, Instrumental, and Ballet. Write winter address: P.O. Box 6100, Charlotte, N.C. 28207.

Employment Wanted

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH in large Eastern University, 32, multilingual, Harvard Ph.D. pending, seeks more challenging work in environmental defense, consumer protection, educaiton of the disadvantaged, or similar quasi-public service. Little operative experience, but extensive journalistic background. New Republic, Box #4450.

WRITING, EDITING, RESEARCH by expert published writer, Who's Who biographee. New Republic Box 4370.

EXPERIENCED GOVERNESS. College Student. Loves Children. Will Travel. May 27-Sept. 12. New Republic Box #4500.

Employment Opportunities

WORK IN ENGLAND, IRELAND, AUSTRALIA OR NEW ZEALAND this summer. Get to know one of these countries from the inside. CIEE will provide employment information and working papers if you qualify for the International Student Employment service. Write: Council on International Educational Exchange, Dept. E-3, 777 U.N. Plaza, New York, N. Y. 10017.

BOOMING AUSTRALIA wants YOU—Application forms and new 1970 Australian Handbook describing Government assisted passage, family and housing allowances, jobs, business, ranching, teaching, hunting, fishing, etc. $1.00. Buckeye, Box HX, Fairborn, Ohio 45324.

PHYSICIANS, NURSE-WIVES, Nurses, Medical Technicians, Record Librarians, and Social Workers are *Urgently* needed for the New Family Nurse Practitioner Project in Eestern Kentucky. Write: Frontier Nursing Service, Wendover, Kentucky 41773.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU! Government Assisted Passage. 50,000 Jobs. 1970 Government Information and Forms $1.00. Special reports on Employment, Business, Taxes, Housing, Education, Ranching, Farming, Teaching, Maps, etc. AUSTCO, Box 3623-EE, Long Beach, California 90803

TEACHERS WANTED, Innovative, socially aware, grades K-8, also specialties. New York suburb, 60 minutes from N.Y.C. Salary range for 69-70 is $6,900 to $14,000+. Contact Mr. N. Karamessinis, Asst. Supt. for Instr., Box 241, Rockaway, N.J. (201-361-2900).

IMPORTANT JOB IN IMPORTANT EXPERIMENT. Technical assistance project providing free consultants to community-developed urban programs requires Assistant Director. "Skill-sharing" support for self-directed solutions to problems in education, health, housing, etc. Requires organizational ability, administrative skills, ability to help clients learn fund-raising skills. Resume to Box 4495, New Republic.

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Dept. N, Box 942, Belmont, California 94002.

JOBS! JOBS! and more JOBS! Men, women, students, teachers, Foreign, U.S.A. Year-round and summer jobs. All occupations and trades. For information, write "JOBS," Box 475 (NR2), Lodi, California 95240.

LONDON, ENGLAND—Secretaries, typists work 10 weeks or more. Applicants pay own fare. Miss Liberty, Inc., 705 Stoneleigh Road, Baltimore, Maryland 21212.

WRITE FOR TELEVISION. Will establish. "Writter," 22841 Calabash, Woodland Hills, California 91364

Property–Sale/Rent

LIBERAL CO-OPERATIVE COMMUNITY near Arkansas Lake. Pre-development prices. Tumbling Shoals Estates, Post Office Drawer 268 B, Naperville, Illinois 60540.

MOVING TO CLEVELAND? For a refreshing experience in modern suburban living, the Shaker Communities offer: A nationally recognized school system; superior municipal services; year-round recreation programs; nearness to Greater Cleveland's cultural-education center and to downtown; fine shopping centers; mature, integrated neighborhoods. Contact: The Shaker Communities, 16800 Chagrin Boulevard, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120. (216) 751-2155.

SAINT THOMAS USVI FOR RENT. Luxury Big Villa Overlooking Magens Bay and New Sapphire Beach. Efficiency with Tennis, Pool. Call (703) JE 2-6504 or write: 3234 North Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20007.

Vacations/Travel

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—$1.75. Rates, schedules 700 passenger carrying freighters. Travel-tips, 40-21, JDV, Bell, Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

BRIDGE THE GENERATION GAP—Join hippies, radicals in one week of communal living and see Berkeley and San Francisco from a different vantage. Cost $150. For brochure write Hoffman Tours, 29 South 40th St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104.

WINDJAMMER VACATION — Sail from Rockland, Maine to picturesque islands and harbors in Penobscot Bay. $135 weekly. Brochure. Schooner RICHARD ROBBINS, West Bath, Maine. Phone (207) 443-3805.

STUDENT EXPEDITIONS — Summer 1970. Safari in Africa, Hunt-Ride in Ireland, Canoe the Danube or Explore the Amazon. Small groups, professional leaders. Robinson Crusoe Abroad, Box 23, 360 West 22nd Street, NYC 10011. (212-873-1260).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MAYA ZAPOTEC CIVILIZATIONS. Yucatan to Zihuataenjo. Summer in non-tourist Mexico with anthropologist. High School students, 6th year. Box 4486, Stockton, California 95204.

AIMS INTERNATIONAL — European summer study and travel. Ages 15-20, 23 programs of language study or Art History, Theatre, Comparative Governments, Comparative Cultures, Russian Studies, Mediterranean Cruise. England, France, Switzerland, Spain, Italy, Austria, Russia, Greece, Israel. Chaperoned: Academic Credit; $985. Registrar, 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006.

CEC TAKES YOU TO MEET RUSSIANS face to face in the USSR, if you think peace is more than a one-day parade. All ages and occupations can qualify. Non-political 2 or 3 week exchange visits open for March, April, Summer 1970. Write, phone: Citizen Exchange Corps, 10 W. 46th Street, New York, New York. LT 1-8113. Dept. NR-270.

RE-LIVE HISTORY THIS SUMMER—join a 3-week expedition to duplicate the trail of Lewis and Clark from St. Louis to Portland, Oregon. Groups will be accompanied by distinguished Lewis and Clark historians. Authentic routing includes cruise/camping trip along Missouri River's Wilderness Waterway. Departures June, July, August. Rate includes hotels, meals, transportation over tour route, transfers, baggage handling. For information and brochure: Rhoda Kantor, Four Winds Travel, 175 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10010; phone (212) 777-0260.

HEALTHFUL FLORIDA VACATIONS—Relaxing. Reducing. Rejuvenation. Free brochure. Write: SHANGRI-LA, Bonita Springs, Florida 33923-NR.

287 EUROPEAN HOTELS, 167 cities, 24 countries. Excellent, inexpensive. Prices, addresses. $1.00. Voyages, Ltd., Box 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

CIEE STUDENT TRAVEL SERVICES 1970. Save on European travel with low-cost transatlantic transportation; intra-European student charter flights; the International Student Identity Card. Enroll in an introductory course at a European university. Write for information on study, travel and work programs abroad: Council on International Educational Exchange, Dept. NR-3, 777 U.N. Plaza, New York, N. Y. 10017.

FOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS AND GRADUATES. Exceptional travel plans in Western Europe — Czechoslovakia and Yugsolavia — Israel — Russia. Get off the beaten track and become involved in European life. Speak French in France or Spanish in Spain all summer. Or stay in a Soviet youth center; sail with Breton fishermen; climb glacier-covered Alps; ski in August at Mont Blanc; make bicycle trip in Denmark; hike with Czech students; work in Israeli kibbutz; live with European family. Music festivals, theaters. 19th year. Write: George N. Shumlin, Putney Student Travel, Putney, Vermont 05346.

LEARN TO CLIMB WEEKS. In the Tetons. Jackson Hole Mountain Guides. Teton Village, Wyoming 83025.

ST. JOHN, V.I. vacation cottage, magnificent views. Weekly rental. J. Brown, 44 W. 94, NYC 10025.

Cookery

NATURAL WHOLEWHEAT BREAD — Instructions, $1.00. Ma-June, 107 Carl Street, San Francisco, California 94117.

GASTRONOMIC LITHOGRAPHS from Rare French Cookbooks. Four: $6.00, Eight: $10.00. Gourmet Graphics, 1197 Cragmont, Berkeley, California 94708.

HOMEMADE WINE—Instructions, recipes. $1.00. P.O. Box 19103, Pensacola, Florida 32501.

GIFT GIVING TEAS. 16 "Taste Test" assorted, $3.95 postpaid. Free Catalog. Caravel, Box 554-R, Jackson Heights, New York 11372.

WINEMAKING KIT . . . $4.98. Free recipes. Catalog. JIMDANDY, Box 30230-XX, Cincinnati, Ohio 45230.

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 71, 75 Wall Street, NYC 10005.

Arts and Crafts

FOR ONE DOLLAR I will send you an original drawing. Suzen, 1264 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Wash., D.C.

CANDLES—SCENTED BEESWAX. 2 lb. cylinder. Layered colors. Burn and Glow 85 hours. Dripless. Satisfaction Guaranteed. Send $3.75 each, postpaid, to Tom Gullion, Candlemaker, Box 225, Chiloquin, Oregon 97624. Specify Basic Color Desired.

LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS: Chagall, Miro, Braque. Moderately priced. Illustrative catalogue, 50c. George Kirschner, 90-59 56th Avenue, Elmhurst, New York 11373.

CARTOONS WANTED: Original drawings of Masses, New Masses, Liberator artists. Will purchase single drawings or complete collections. Send details to: Box #182, Durham, Pennsylvania 18039.

COLLECT ORIGINAL SIGNED ETCHINGS and lithographs by America's foremost artists, including Dobkin, Florsheim, Greenwood, Hirsch, Landau. Margulies, Raphael Soyer, from $15. Free catalog with 47 illustrations. (Mail 25c for handling.) Associated American Artists, Studio 6, 663 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. 10022.

AMERICA'S OLDEST GROWERS of ORIENTAL BONSAI. Free Catalog. Heirob Bonsai Nursery, Hampton, Livingston Manor, New York 12758.

AT LAST! BUY AND SELL ART AND ANTIQUES DIRECTLY — THOUSANDS OF PRICED LISTINGS.
"Your ad printed free—
We collect our fee
When the sale is made
and you are paid!"
10% commission!—Maximum $100. Annual subscription, $10. Write: THE ART TRADER, Inc., Box 43, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

CABUYA BAGS—Woven natural-fiber handbags—leather-trimmed—for beach, campus, casual wear. (C. D. Project) Write: Andean, Box 472-R, Cuenca, Ecuador.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

Creative Services

WE COPY AND RESTORE old photos and documents. Repro Associates, Sonith Building. Pine and Daly Streets, Indianapolis, Indiana 46202.

Music

COMPOSER-IN-RESIDENCE AT THE CORCORAN GALLERY OF ART, Washington, D.C., needs the use of two professional tape recorders (Ampex or Sculley; 4-channel, 7½ & 15 IPS) and related equipment for the making of free improvisational compositions. Contact: H. Clayton, 1843 S St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

FREE 64 PAGE CATALOG offers hundreds of recordings of rare Renaissance, Baroque and Classical music. Introductory records as low as $1.00 each! All late recordings. In Stereo only. MHS Records, Box 932-NR, New York, New York 10023.

SASSMAN HARPSICHORDS. Kastenbau construction. Meticulous craftsmanship. Brochures. Gregoire Harpsichord Distributors, Charlemont, Mass. 01339.

MOUNTAIN DULCIMERS, eight designs. Free Catalog. Dennis Dorogi, Brocton, New York 14716.

NEW—BURTON HARPSICHORD KIT—5 octaves (61 keys), FF to f'"—8' x 4' plus buff stop, 122 Burton Jacks (pat.pend.), Sitka Spruce Soundboard. Write: Herbert Wm. Burton, 917 "O" St., Dept. N, Lincoln, Nebraska 68508.

MAGNIFICENT HANDMADE WALNUT MUSIC STAND. Fully adjustable. $280.00. Send $.50 for glossy photographs and literature. Customcraft Workshop 3902 Surry Road, Toledo, Ohio 43615.

MUSICAL DELIGHT for a lifetime: a Sabathil harpsichord from Vancouver, Canada.

FREE CIRCULAR—Country Western Records and Tape Cartridges: Fiddle Tunes, Waltzes, Blue Grass. Uncle Jim O'Neal, Box A-NR, Arcadia, California 91006.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

FALL IN LOVE with a Neupert Harpsichord. Magnamusic Distributors, Inc., Sharon, Connecticut 06069.

DULCIMER PSALTERIES and other easily made and played instruments. Kits $15.55 up, instruments $38.50 up. Instruction record and book. HERE, Inc., N. Box 341, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) 60c
Per word 6 times in one contract year 55c
Per word 12 times in one contract year ... 50c
Per word 24 times in one contract year ... 45c
Per word 48 times in one contract year ... 40c

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

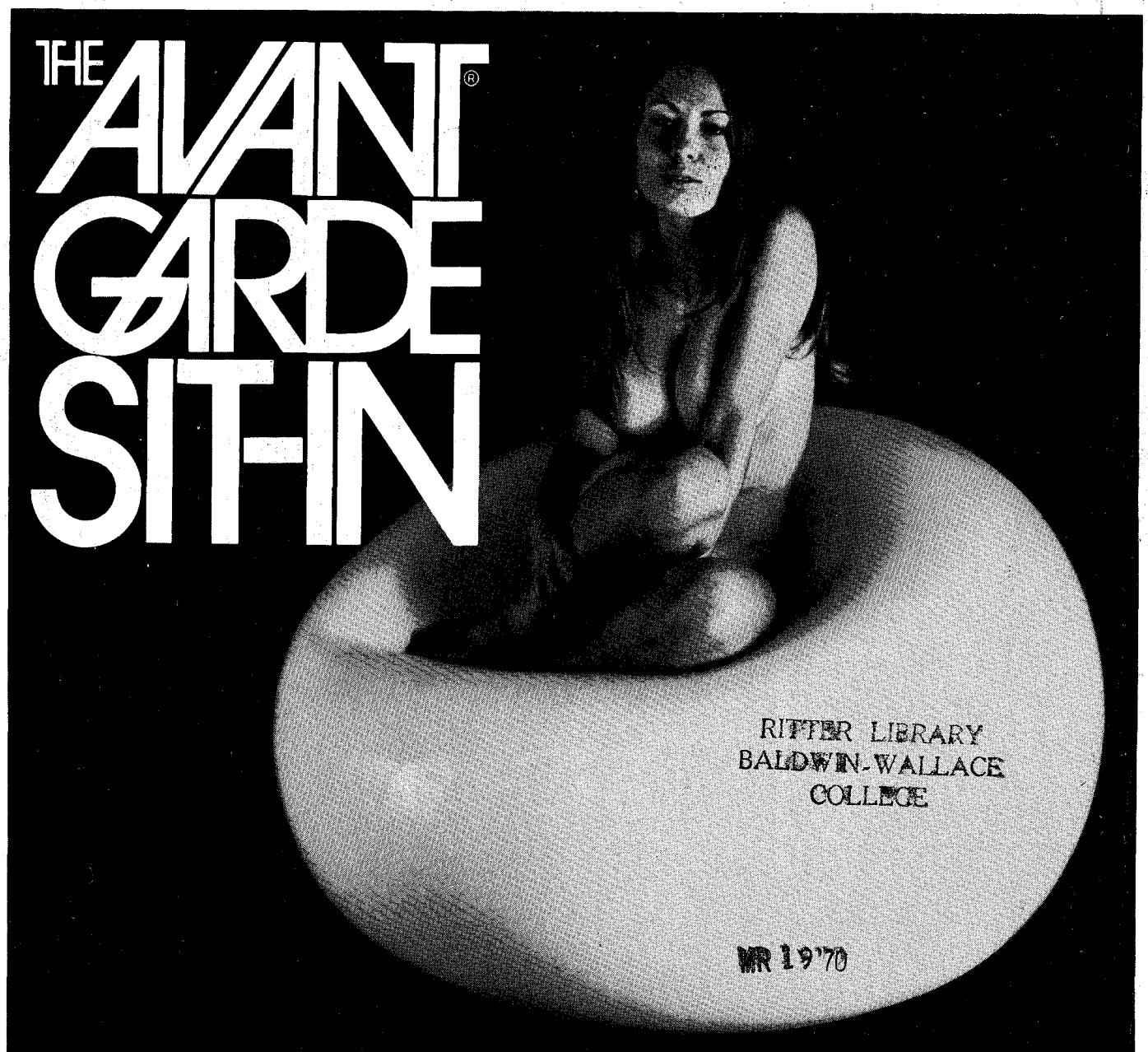
24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Printed by Merkle Press, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AVANT® GARDE SIT-IN



Protest against uncomfortable, heavy, square-looking furniture! Take a position in the revolutionary new Avant-Garde Inflatable Sculpture Seat. Use this seat anywhere—in your pad, the office of the university president, even the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. What's more, the Avant-Garde Inflatable Sculpture Seat is completely portable and it can be stored in a drawer. It's made of thick, triple-laminated vinyl and is available in six vibrating colors. Perhaps best of all, the Avant-Garde Inflatable Sculpture Seat easily supports the weight of two—and it bounces!

Chairs similar to the Avant-Garde Inflatable Sculpture Seat sell in department stores for $50. Our deflated price: **only $9.95!!**

To order your Avant-Garde Inflatable Sculpture Seat, simply fill out the adjacent coupon and mail it with $9.95 (plus 85¢ for shipping) to: The Avant-Garde Emporium, 110 West 40th Street, New York, New York 10018. Please be sure to hurry, since the Avant-Garde Inflatable Sculpture Seat is imported and stocks are limited.

You'll really be sitting pretty.

THE AVANT® GARDE EMPORIUM

110 W. 40 ST., NEW YORK, N.Y. 10018

The Avant-Garde Emporium
110 West 40th Street
New York, New York 10018

I enclose $_____ for _____ Avant-Garde Inflatable Sculpture Seats at ONLY $9.95 EACH (plus 85¢ for shipping; total: $10.80). My color choice is:
(Check)

☐ White ☐ Red ☐ Blue
☐ Orange ☐ Yellow ☐ Black

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____ ZIP _____

NEW YORK RESIDENTS PLEASE ADD 60¢ PER CHAIR FOR SALES TAX. ©AVANT-GARDE 1970. TRADEMARK "AVANT-GARDE" REGISTERED U.S. PATENT OFFICE.

agenr1

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED